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POLAND AND THE POLES

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THE WAWEL HILL OVER THE VISTULA IN CRACOW, SHOWING THE CATHEDRAL AND THE ROYAL PALACE

POLAND AND THE POLES

BY

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WITH TWENTY-ONE ILLUSTRATIONS AND THREE MAPS

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PREFACE

MY book is based on a study of Poland extending over many years and on personal contact with the Poles during five years' residence in the country. I have attempted to give an unprejudiced account of the Poles and to combat some of the false ideas that are current, inspired by the enemies of the Polish people. A book of this kind cannot be written as a continuous narrative, and must inevitably be a series of essays, in which certain facts are often repeated from different points of view. In Polish proper names I have kept the original forms except for the transliteration of the nasal vowels into *on* and *en*. I have used the accepted English forms of the names of well-known towns, such as Warsaw, Cracow, Lemberg, Vilna and Dantzig, but I see no reason to change the Polish name of Poznań into the German form, Posen.

The rapid changes in the position of Poland, while I have been writing the book, have made my task difficult. When I began to write, Poland was overrun by the German armies. When I finished, Poland was an independent State. Moreover, my actual knowledge of recent events was scanty, so that the last chapter does not purport to be a final summary of the period, but a mere sketch to bring my book up to date. I have tried, so far as I could, to avoid controversial topics.

The War has cut me off from all access to Polish sources of information and from communication with most of my Polish friends.

I am deeply indebted to all my Polish friends, whose kindness and hospitality enabled me to study their country. I am grateful to Miss L. D. Rhodes for her indefatigable labours in copying and revising my MS.

I wish to express my gratitude to Miss A. Gillett, of Liverpool University, for her kindness in drafting the maps.

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POLAND AND THE POLES

CHAPTER I

THE LAND

THE vague knowledge we possess in this country of the Poles as an oppressed people with a great past does not extend to the country in which they dwell. Poland was divided up by Russia, Prussia, and Austria long ago, and for an hundred and twenty years disappeared as a geographical and political entity. Its very name was ruthlessly blotted out from the map of Europe. The partitioning Powers successfully accomplished their task of persuading the world to forget the name of Poland, and under such names as Galicia, Posen, the Vistula provinces, we did not recognize the fragments of one of the greatest States of Europe. To us Poland has been a mere name, a vague region of dim romance, east of Germany, and connected in some mysterious way with Russia; a land of chivalry and revolution, a land that sends us musicians and Jews. It is indeed difficult to give any accurate description of Poland as a whole. Parts of it appear in the Blue Books of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, in three different languages, introduced in a fragmentary way, with the object of deliberately suppressing truth. Are we, then, to discuss the vast territories that comprised the former Polish State, or to describe the far smaller region that is ethnically Polish to-day? Are we to treat Poland as a whole, or according to the political divisions that existed before

the Great War? Poland has now become once more a political and economic body. Its boundaries are not yet fixed. Hence it will be best to describe all the region where Polish civilization is an important element, without claiming that all the territory described, historically part of Poland, is to belong to the new Polish State.

Poland—in Polish, *Polska*—means the country of the plain (*Pole* = field), and comprises the great expanse of East Central Europe between the Baltic sea and the Carpathian mountains, forming the transition from the smaller German plain to the greater plain of Russia. It differs from the former in its greater size and its magnificent forests, from the latter in its lofty mountains and its seaboard. The chief features of Poland, apart from the Carpathian mountains, are its great rivers, which flow either north-west or south-east. The chief rivers are the Upper Oder, the Vistula, the Niemen, and the Dvina, all flowing into the Baltic; the Pruth, the Dniester, the Bug, and the Dnieper, flowing into the Black Sea. These rivers, with their tributaries, form the chief geographical feature of Poland, but do not form natural frontiers. In fact, Poland is completely open, both on the west and on the east, so that the boundaries of Poland towards both Germany and Russia must always be vague and fluctuating. Poland, then, is a great plain, practically unbroken, except by rivers, and was once covered by the great central European forest, in which the early Slav tribes lived, quite unknown to the Romans. To-day, these forests have been cut down, except in isolated spots, and the land is almost all cultivated and thickly populated. The forest, however, played a great part in isolating the Polish tribes from each other, and from their neighbours. The size and extent of this Polish territory can best be realized by a few comparisons.

POLAND—PHYSICAL MAP

The former Polish State, from north to south, was about as far as from Edinburgh to Berlin; from east to west it was as far as from London to Vienna. It will be interesting for those who regard Poland as part of Russia to realize that Warsaw, a central point in Poland, is as far from Petrograd as it is from Aix-la-chapelle, as far from Moscow as from Flushing. Further, Warsaw is equidistant from Paris and the Crimean seaboard; it is half-way between Portsmouth and Nizhni-Novgorod. These few comparisons give some idea of the vast expanse of the region we are considering.

Poland can be divided according to its geological formation into five regions: The Carpathian mountains, running from the west in a south-easterly direction; the southern plateaux; the central region of plains, cut by the marshy valleys of the rivers; the northern region of uplands, marshes and lakes; and the seaboard. These five regions run across Poland roughly from east to west, and may be described in more detail.

The Carpathian chain extends from the Moravian gap (where the railway runs from Warsaw to Vienna) to the Roumanian plain. South of the principal chain of the Carpathians, above the upper waters of the Dunajec, are the Tatra mountains, which soar from the forest and pasture regions up to heights of bare rock and eternal snow, 2662 metres above the sea level. This is the Alpine region of Poland; and the village of Zakopane in this district attracts tourists from all parts of the country for its magnificent scenery and its mountain-climbing, where the picturesque Polish Highlanders act as guides. Further east, the Carpathian chain is divided into the West and East Beskid mountains, which are covered with forests, and were the scene of much bitter fighting during Ivanov's winter campaign in 1915. This mountain region is of great economic importance for Poland. Though the dwellers on the slopes of the

hills are only occupied with the pasturage of sheep, a little farther north lies some of the richest mineral wealth of Poland, the famous salt mines near Cracow in the west, and the abundant petroleum wells in the east. The whole of this mountain region formed the Austrian part of Poland, seized in 1773 and called officially Galicia, the latinized form of the name of the old capital, Halicz.

The region of the southern uplands may be roughly divided into four distinct plateaux, extending from west to east, from the Upper Oder as far as the Dnieper and the steppes of the Black Sea. These districts are: Upper Silesia, Lesser Poland, Lublin and Podolia. Silesia (in Polish, *Ślansk*), once a purely Slav State, was long disputed between Poland and Bohemia, and finally fell to the latter, and then to Austria. It was seized in the eighteenth century by Frederick the Great of Prussia. Though the northern part has been Germanized, Upper Silesia is still mainly inhabited by Poles, who have always maintained a strong hold on the richest agricultural and industrial part. Upper Silesia is one of the richest industrial regions in Europe. A small part remained in Austria, but the main portion fell to Prussia. It contains a large coalfield which extends into Russian Poland and Galicia. The union of this divided coal area will give a strong industrial basis to the newly formed Polish State. The plateau of Lesser Poland was the most important part of the former Polish State; it was, and is still, the centre of Polish culture, containing as it does the old capital of Cracow, with its ancient university and its artistic treasures, the monastery of Czenstochowa with its religious and military traditions—a venerated shrine visited by pilgrims from all over Poland—and the Holy Cross hills, renowned in Polish folk-lore and guerilla warfare. The whole plateau of Lesser Poland is studded

with the castles of the old Polish noble families, to-day mostly in ruins. The plateau is bounded on the south by the Jura hills near Cracow, on the north by the Holy Cross hills and the Bald Mountain (*Lysa Gora*). The country is not fertile, except in the south-east, towards Sandomierz, where a famous kind of wheat is grown. East of this region, and separated from it by the Vistula, is the plateau of Lublin, the most fertile part of Poland proper, abounding in cornfields and orchards of fruit. This region was the earliest part of the border lands to be colonized from Great and Lesser Poland. It was this early migration which brought the Poles into contact with the Russian tribes in the neighbourhood of Chelm, which is still disputed between them. There are still here remains of the former primeval forest, masses of oaks, beeches and limes. The south-eastern part of the plateau is the beginning of the famous Black Earth belt of Southern Russia, which has allured Polish settlers from the earliest times.

The most easterly plateau, which once formed part of the Polish State but is to-day outside Poland proper, is Podolia, the Lowlands (*po*=along; *dol*=level), where the European plain widens out, extending from the San and the Boh to the Dnieper, and forming the western part of the region known as the Ukraine or Borderland. Podolia is divided into two natural halves by the river Zbrucz, which was also the boundary between Eastern Galicia and Russian Podolia. It is the cradle of the Little Russian or Ruthenian people, but owing to its exposed position has been the scene of colonization and aggression by the Poles, Muscovites, Roumanians, and of depredations by the Turks and Tartars. It has been exposed, from time immemorial, to raids from the nomads of the steppe, and was the land of the Western or Ukrainian Cossacks. But to-day both Tartar and Cossack have disappeared, and the land is covered with

wheat and beetroots. One of its chief features consists of the great ravines, where the villages are grouped round lakes in the wooded valleys, while the cornlands spread over the boundless plain above, so that all signs of habitation are invisible from the plain. A great Tartar track ran from the Crimea to Lemberg in former days. The chief city of Western Podolia is Lemberg (Polish, *Lwów*), a cosmopolitan city, once a great depôt for Oriental trade, where the West meets the East. It is partly Polish, partly Ruthenian or Ukrainian, and contains many Jews and Armenians. Western Podolia was officially known as Eastern Galicia, and Lemberg was the administrative capital of the Austrian province of Galicia. Eastern Podolia, before the war, formed the Russian province of Podolia and parts of the provinces of Kiev and Volhynia. In 1917 it became part of the Ruthenian State of the Ukraine. Kamieniec, a city on a rock near the Dniester, was a great Polish fortress, a bulwark against Turkey; and many great battles took place between the Poles and the Turks at Chocim, on the opposite side of the river. Other fortresses against the Cossacks and Tartars were at Bar, farther east, and at Kudak, on the Dnieper. The capital of the Ukraine is Kiev, the centre of the early Russian State. The city was for five hundred years under Lithuania and Poland. There is still a considerable Polish population there, and the Polish gentry are very numerous all over Podolia, while the peasants are Ruthenians and the middle-class traders are Jews. Towards the south, Podolia merges in the steppe region, and agriculture becomes more and more difficult owing to drought and the ravages of mice and locusts. This region never belonged to Poland, and was only won to civilization from the Tartars in 1783 by the Russian soldiers of Catherine the Great.

Between the southern and northern plateaux there

lies the central plain of Poland, divided by the great rivers that flow in a north-westerly direction. These rivers are all connected by canals. The Bromberg canal connects the Oder and Vistula systems; the Augustów canal connects the Vistula and Niemen; the Ogiński canal connects the Niemen with the Dnieper. The Royal canal links the tributaries of the Vistula with those of the Dnieper, while the Berezina canal joins the Dnieper to the Dvina. Thus great rafts of timber can descend from the small rivers in the forest region to Dantzig, Tilsit, Riga or Kherson; and there is a water route from the Black Sea to the Baltic. This central area may also be divided into a number of distinct regions from west to east — Great Poland, Kujawia, South Mazovia, Podlasia and Polesie.

Great Poland and Kujawia formerly comprised the whole of the Grand Duchy of Posen in Germany and the western part of Russian Poland. This region is the cradle of the Polish State, and contains the earliest capitals: Kruszwica, Gniezno (Gnesen) and Poznań (Posen). The earliest Polish traditions speak of the Lake of Goplo, once a great inland sea, the centre of a network of rivers connecting it with the Baltic. Gniezno has remained to this day the seat of the chief Polish Archbishopric, and contains the tomb of the great Czech missionary, St Adalbert who became the patron saint of Poland. Poznań was for long the capital of Poland, and still remains the metropolis of Great Poland. It has been the centre of the bitter struggle between the Poles and the Germans. The early kings of Poland are buried there. Farther east, over the former Russian frontier, is the ancient city of Kalisz, the capital of a Russian province, mentioned by Ptolemy in his geography as Calisia. In the whole of Great Poland the struggle of the Polish peasants against German colonization has been in progress from time

immemorial. The Germans occupy the less fertile districts, having been unable to oust the Poles from their settlements on the more fertile portions of the plain. But despite the assistance of the German Government, these recent German settlers have been unable to drive out or absorb the Poles, who are to-day increasing in numbers far more rapidly than the Germans. The long racial struggle has produced a very sturdy type of Polish peasant, far superior in education and science to the peasants of Russian Poland. The peasantry of Poznania will be the backbone of the new united Polish State, and have already given many great men to the nation. There were fewer magnates in Great Poland than in Lesser Poland; and the gentry of this region have always been distinguished for their patriotism. It was with the rise of vast estates in the Ukraine, whose magnates could outvote the more patriotic gentry of Poland proper, that the decline of Poland began. There is little mineral wealth or industry in Great Poland. It is an agricultural region, which the advance of agricultural science and education have made into the granary of Prussia. Especially important is the cultivation of beetroot for sugar; and such industrial enterprise as exists, consists in the exploitation of the agricultural produce of the region, *i.e.* sugar refineries, distilleries, breweries, etc.

East of Kujawia stretches the great plain which once formed the southern half of the Principality of Mazovia, which was the third and most backward part of the Polish State. The main geographical feature of this region is the river Vistula, on the banks of which has risen the great city of Warsaw. The northern part of the plain is a moderately fertile region, intensively cultivated, and chiefly occupied in the production of sugar beets. This region formerly supported a great number of poor squires or yeomen, and it was the in-

corporation of democratic Mazovia in the Polish kingdom which led to the transformation of Poland from a monarchy into a republic. The southern part of the plain was formerly a thinly populated region of woods and heaths. But there grew up here in the nineteenth century the great industrial area which has become the most prosperous part of Poland. Lodz, formerly a village, became a great city, and is to-day the headquarters of the textile industry of Poland, and the centre of a network of towns and villages, all thickly populated and occupied in industry. The whole region round Lodz and Warsaw forms the greatest industrial area in Eastern Europe, especially since 1850 when the Customs frontier between Russia and the kingdom of Poland was abolished. The Mazovian plain is also of great military importance, and has been the scene of many great campaigns and battles. All its rivers have become well known in military history, as their marshy valleys form serious obstacles to armies marching from west to east. Besides the Vistula, such small rivers as the Bzura are well known as the scene of the obstinate resistance of the Russians to the great offensives of Hindenburg and Mackensen in the Great War. The industry and commerce that centre in this plain and in its capital, Warsaw, together with its position in the middle of Poland and on the great routes from west to east, must inevitably make Mazovia not only the nucleus of a great State, but one of the greatest centres of population, industry and commerce in Europe.

Podlasia (lit. *under the forest*) is the area of transition from the Mazovian plain into the Lithuanian forest region. It was colonized by Mazovian peasants at an early date, and is to-day ethnographically the meeting-place of Poles, White Russians and Little Russians. The western portion resembles the plain of Mazovia on the west; the eastern part is marshy, and, as the

name implies, marks the beginning of the forest region further east. Its two chief towns are Bialystok, the centre of an industrial area, and Brest (commonly called Brest *litewski* or *litovski*, the Polish and Russian words for "Lithuanian," to distinguish it from other towns of the same name), the most easterly town of Poland proper. Brest is, in fact, a bulwark of West European civilization in the East. The Brest fortified line was formerly the main line of defence by Russia against Germany. The Warsaw line could only be an advanced post as it was outflanked by East Prussia on the north and Galicia on the south.

East of Podlasia lies the great region of marsh and forest known as Polesie (*po*=along, *las*=forest). It is separated from Podlasia by the great forest of Bialowież, the marshy thickets of which separate the basins of the Niemen and Dnieper from the Vistula system. The famous forest of Bialowież is the only virgin forest in Central Europe, and extends for some fifty miles over the region between Brest and Grodno. Besides great numbers of boar and deer, this forest shelters herds of European bisons, once spread over all Europe, but now rapidly dying out. Polesie, in the Tertiary period, was part of the sea, and long remained a vast internal lake. But it was gradually drained by the Prypet, one of the chief tributaries of the Dnieper, and has become a great marsh covered, over most of its area, with forest. On the isolated uplands and islands of this region the Little Russian peasants maintain a precarious existence. Communications are extremely difficult. To get from one village to another in Polesie is harder than to get from one State to another in Western Europe, so that the people are the most isolated and backward in Europe. The animal and vegetable life is naturally very rich. Among the fauna are the bear, the elk and the beaver. The inhabitants themselves are astonishingly detached

from civilized life, primitive in their habits, often quite beyond the reach of all authority. It is said there are villages which have never paid taxes. In 1840 an old hunter was found who had heard neither of the Partitions of Poland nor of the Napoleonic Wars. He believed he was still living under the Polish monarchy. The present writer once met a Polish peasant in the Bialowież forest who spoke of the Polish kings of bygone days, and seemed to regard the Russian rule as purely ephemeral. In this area agriculture is very rare, and even cattle are difficult to keep owing to the abundance of insects. The inhabitants make a livelihood in more primitive fashion by hunting, fishing, beekeeping, and woodcutting, as they have done from time immemorial. Forestry and the timber industry are naturally carried on by the most advanced inhabitants of the region, the Polish colonists.

Strategically, Polesie is perhaps the greatest military obstacle in Europe. It cuts the west of Russia into two completely separated theatres of war—Lithuania in the north and Volhynia in the south. This was one of the causes of the failure of Napoleon in 1812. Russia was compelled to organize two separate armies for the defence of her territory, based on Vilna and Kiev respectively. The acquisition of the kingdom of Poland in 1830 was a serious embarrassment to Russia from a military point of view. To-day a railway traverses Polesie, but the country will remain backward until some great scheme of drainage is carried out. The army of Prince Leopold of Bavaria traversed both the forest of Bialowież and the western marshes in 1915–16, and it will be interesting to hear details of this great achievement of military engineering.

North of the central plain of Poland are the northern uplands, stretching from west to east, parallel with the plains we have just described. Whereas the southern

plateau, with the exception of the Holy Cross hills, presents an even surface broken only by the river valleys, the northern uplands are distinguished by lines of undulating hills, often in the form of ramparts, due to the action of glaciers. This area is divided by the valleys of the Dvina, of the Niemen and of the Lower Vistula, and may be divided into five regions—the Baltic provinces and their White Russian hinterland, the Niemen basin or Lithuania (in Polish, *Litwa*), East Prussia, North Mazovia and West Prussia on the Vistula mouth. Poland has never had a strong hold on the Baltic provinces except in the south, where a small part of Livonia and all the Duchy of Courland owed allegiance to the Polish Crown. But Polish influence has always been predominant in the basin of the Niemen, because the Lithuanians became Roman Catholics under Polish influence, and the whole of their educated classes have, till latterly, spoken Polish. Lithuania formed the Russian provinces of the north-west, *i.e.* Kovno, Vilna, Grodno, Minsk and Mohylew, together with part of the province of Suwalki, in the kingdom of Poland. The chief natural feature of the country consists in the rivers, whose beautiful valleys have been praised by Mickiewicz, the greatest poet of Lithuania. The country is purely agricultural, and the Lithuanian peasant, speaking his quaint, old-world language, seems to bring us very near to our ancestral Aryan civilization. The capital of Lithuania is Vilna (or Wilno), a Polish town, with a Polish university dating from the sixteenth century, closed by the Russians in 1830. Lithuania was a land of great territorial magnates, like the Radziwills, whose estates were larger than many European kingdoms. There are vast areas of forest joining up with the forests of Polesie. It is thought that the original home of the Slav race—if not of the Aryan-speaking peoples—is to be found in the forest lands of White

Russia, whose peasants are the most primitive folk in Europe and of almost unmixed racial stock. A part of Eastern Prussia is inhabited by the Lithuanians; and the ancient Prussians, exterminated at an early date by the German colonists of the Teutonic Order, spoke a language akin to Lithuanian. The Lithuanian national movement, strongly opposed both by the Russian Government and by the Poles, found a home in Tilsit, and, like the Ukrainist movement, was assisted by the German Government. The lower part of Lithuania, called Žmudž (lowland) or Samogitia, was the last part of Europe to abandon paganism for Christianity, and has always retained many primitive beliefs and customs. The very name Baltic is derived from the Lithuanian word for "sea," and Lithuania probably lay on the trade route for Greek and Roman merchants in search of amber.

East Prussia contains the valleys of the Lower Niemen, and the Pregel and the district of the Mazovian or Mazurian lakes. It was originally the home of the pagan Prussians, but was colonized by Germans from the sea, Lithuanians from the Niemen basin, and Polish settlers from Mazovia, who form a compact mass in the southern lake district. The chief city is Konigsberg, situated in the purely German part which, but for political frontiers, would be naturally part of Lithuania. The Prussian plain is to-day a purely German territory, the home of the Junker, and its position as a remote part of Germany, shutting off Poland from the sea, is one of the problems of political geography.

North Mazovia, formerly part of the Polish Principality of that name, comprises the former Russian provinces of Plock, Lomža, and part of the province of Warsaw. It is bounded on the south by the Vistula. It was once the border of the Polish land against the Lithuanian and Prussian pagans dwelling in their in-

accessible forests. It is a purely agricultural region, and suffers greatly from over-population and the lack of railways. It has been a great breeding ground for Poland. From there colonists have migrated to Prussia, Lithuania and the Ukraine, and in our own day to America. So that the Polish colonist has become universally known as a Mazovian or Mazur.

West Prussia—called by the Poles Royal Prussia because it belonged to the Polish Crown, whereas East Prussia was merely under Polish suzerainty—is the region of the Vistula mouth. It consists of two distinct halves—the part east of the Vistula is really a prolongation of Northern Mazovia, while the western portion was part of ancient Pomerania. The Pomeranians were the Slavs who dwelt on the seaboard (*po*=along, *more*=sea). There is also a Pomerania in the Adriatic where the Serbo-Croat people reach the sea. The original Pomeranians were absorbed by German colonists. But in the region west of the Vistula there still dwells a tribe called the Kaszubes who are descended from them, but who consider themselves to-day as Poles, since their small numbers do not enable them to survive as a separate nation. This region of Pomerania is a country of great natural beauty, and from its picturesque scenery of hills and valleys is known to the Poles as the Kaszubian Switzerland. Near to Dantzig is the seaside resort of Sopoty, where sea-bathing attracts many Poles in the summer. There are many ancient towns in West Prussia, once the seats of the Teutonic knights, and many ruined castles remain. The former capital of the Order was Malborg (Marienburg), but the greatest city is Dantzig (Polish, *Gdańsk*). Dantzig has lost much of its importance, partly owing to the shifting of the stream of the Vistula, partly owing to the fall of Poland, of which it was the great port, and to the competition of Stettin, Hamburg and Bremen. West Prussia is partly

Germanized to-day, but has still a large Polish population, and its possession is a matter of life and death to Polish industry and commerce. The only other city of importance in West Prussia is Toruń (German, *Thorn*), a place of great military importance and the birthplace of the great Polish astronomer, Copernicus.

The land we have just described in its geographical aspects has been, since the Partitions of Poland, *i.e.* since 1795, cut up into a number of artificial divisions without regard to geography or race. These divisions, before the War of 1914, were as follows:

1. *Prussian Poland* comprised the bulk of Great Poland, all Silesia and Prussia, and was divided officially into East Prussia, West Prussia on the Lower Vistula, the Grand Duchy of Posen on the Warta, and Silesia on the Upper Oder.

2. *Austrian Poland* consisted of Galicia, with its capital in Lemberg (Lwów), to which had been annexed the little republic of Cracow, and of Austrian Silesia, with its two divisions of Teschen (Polish, *Cieszyn*) and Troppau.

3. *Russian Poland* comprised firstly the kingdom of Poland, which was recently renamed the Vistula Provinces, ruled by a Russian Governor-General, and divided into the provinces of Suwalki, Lomża and Płock in the north, Warsaw and Siedlce in the centre, Kalisz and Piotrków in the west, Kielce and Lublin in the south. This region included part of Kujawia, part of Lesser Poland, the Lublin plateau and the bulk of Mazovia. So that, speaking generally, it may be said that by the Partitions, Prussia obtained Great Poland, Austria obtained Lesser Poland, and Russia obtained Mazovia. The former Polish eastern provinces of Lithuania and the Ukraine were governed by Russia as the north-western provinces of Kovno, Vilna, Grodno, Minsk, Mohylew and Vitebsk, and the south-western provinces of Volhynia, Podolia and Kiev.

From the Polish point of view, which is the most important to-day, when the Polish State is being reconstituted, the natural division of the country is as follows :—

1. *Poland proper*, containing *Great Poland*, with Upper Silesia and Kujawia ; *Lesser Poland* (Western Galicia and the southern part of the Kingdom of Poland), together with the Lublin plateau and part of Eastern Galicia ; and *Mazovia* (the central and north-eastern part of the kingdom of Poland, together with parts of East Prussia), together with Podlasia. To these may be added a great part of West Prussia, *i.e.* the Lower Vistula region.

2. *Lithuania*, comprising the Niemen basin, *i.e.* the Russian provinces of Kovno and Vilna, with the northern port of Suwalki.

3. *White Russia*, the Russian provinces of Grodno, Minsk and Mohylew.

4. *The Ukraine*, comprising Eastern Galicia and the Russian provinces of Volhynia, Podolia and Kiev.

Of these the new Polish State will certainly contain all of Poland proper, the only problem being that of Western Prussia. In any case free access to the sea at Dantzig, with or without political annexation, is essential for Polish economic life. How far a readjustment of the Polish German frontier in Poznania and Silesia will take place is a matter for discussion. Also the question of East Galicia, especially of the city of Lemberg, is exceedingly complicated. Lithuania may become an independent State, or may form part of a federation under either Russian or Polish auspices. Its large Polish minority would make the latter seem probable. White Russia will probably follow the fate of Lithuania. The Ukraine will remain a separate unit, either independent or federated with Russia. But the question of the Polish frontiers both towards Germany

and towards Russia is a thorny problem. In fact the whole of the former Polish State is once more in the melting-pot, and, while the revival of an independent Poland is certain, its relations to the nationalities between Poland and Russia is still undecided, and will revive the bitterest political and racial animosities.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

THE region described in the preceding chapter is inhabited by many nationalities. But the main central mass consists of the Polish people. The Polish people have probably dwelt from time immemorial in part of their present territory, *i.e.* north of the Carpathians and on the upper waters of the Vistula. They are an Alpine people by race, with a strong admixture of Nordic, so that, from an anthropological point of view, they do not differ from the broad belt of round-headed folk that stretches across Central Europe; and it is language and historical tradition that distinguish them from their German neighbours on the west. In early days the Poles were divided into a number of scattered tribes, who carried on an isolated existence among the dense forest lands on the upper waters of the Oder and Vistula. The main branches of this early Polish race were the Poles or Polians of Great Poland, the Vistulans of Lesser Poland, the Mazovians in the east, the Kujawians in the centre, and the Silesians on the Oder. They were closely connected with the Pomeranians or Seaboard folk (*po*=along, *more*=sea) and with the Slav tribes between the Oder and the Elbe. As the forest clearings grew larger these tribes came into closer contact. What event finally united them is unknown. There are traditions of a people called the Lechs, whom some have thought to be a Scandinavian folk, others a Polish tribe; and in early days the Poles

POLAND—ETHNOGRAPHICAL MAP

were known to all their neighbours as Lechs or Lachs, for instance in the Russian Chronicle of Nestor. But the real cause for their union was German aggression. It was the absorption of the Western Slavs which stirred up Polish resistance to the German advance. A union of Slav tribes was formed under the Poles, round Gniezno and Poznań; and the dialect of Great Poland became the official language of Poland. Since then, for a thousand years, there has been a perpetual struggle between the Poles and the Germans on the Oder, the Warta and the Lower Vistula. The Tartar invasion of 1241 so depopulated Poland that a great German immigration took place, which resulted in the Germanization of Western Pomerania and of a large part of Silesia; while about the same time the Teutonic Order settled on the Lower Vistula, colonized East Prussia, and cut off the Poles from the sea. This was a great set-back to Poland, and turned Polish expansion to the east into the lands of the Lithuanians and Little Russians. But they have held their own against the Germans, even since the Partitions of Poland. For some time after the fall of Poland it seemed as if the Germans would completely colonize the western provinces of Poland. Then the Polish resistance stiffened, the Poles began to hold their own and finally to increase in numbers relatively to the Germans. The Poles inhabit the following parts of Prussia: the Grand Duchy of Posen (the Polish province of Poznania), where they number about 1,300,000 or nearly 60 per cent. of the total population. Whereas Lower Silesia, with Breslau, is almost completely Germanized, Upper Silesia contains over 1,300,000 Poles out of a population of 2,200,000. In West Prussia the Poles, together with the Kaszubes, who are descended from the original Pomeranians, number over 600,000, and form the bulk of the population in the southern half of the province—as far as Grudzianz (Graudenz) on the

Vistula. Eastern Prussia is a German colony, but even there the Polish settlers from Mazovia inhabit the Mazurian lake district to the number of 286,000. Also a considerable number of Polish workmen have settled in other parts of Germany, especially in Westphalia. The Poles in Germany, then, number approximately four millions, and are distributed as follows :—

Grand Duchy of Poznań	1,300,000
Upper Silesia	1,300,000
West Prussia	600,000
East Prussia	286,000
Other parts of Germany	600,000
	4,086,000

All these Poles belong to the Roman Catholic Church, with the exception of the Mazovians of East Prussia, who are Lutherans and, consequently, far more under Prussian influence; they are, in fact, regarded as Germans by the Prussian Government.

In Austria, the Poles inhabit all Western Galicia and many parts of Eastern Galicia, especially the capital, Lemberg (Lwów). They also occupy the eastern half of Austrian Silesia. Galicia has had complete autonomy since 1867, and has been the only free centre of Polish life. The Poles in Austria are divided as follows :—

Galicia	4,600,000
Silesia	240,000
Other provinces	260,000
	5,100,000

The main mass of the Poles is found in the kingdom of Poland, formerly under Russian rule, where they form about 75 per cent. of the population. They are, however, closely mingled with the Jews; while the north-east

corner, part of the province of Suwalki, is Lithuanian; and the Chelm district, in the south-east, contains many Little Russians or Ruthenians. But, as will be obvious from Polish history, the whole of the western provinces of Russia, formerly known as Lithuania and the Ukraine, are covered with scattered remnants of Polish colonization and of the Polish attempts to absorb the White Russian and Little Russian peasants; while a great part of this area before the War was in the hands of Polish landowners. Although the Poles here, as in Eastern Galicia, are in a minority, they form an important element of the population, and Polish culture still prevails over the whole region. The Polish population, then, in the former Russian Empire was distributed as follows:—

Kingdom of Poland . . .	9,000,000
Lithuanian and Ukrainian Provinces	2,400,000
Other parts of Russia . . .	500,000
	11,900,000

Besides the Poles within the boundaries of the former three empires, there are large colonies abroad. A considerable emigration has taken place for many years to America, partly to the United States and Canada, partly to Brazil. In the United States there is a very large population, especially in Chicago, where there are over 300,000 Poles; while the State of Paraña, in Brazil, is rapidly becoming a Polish colony. There are no reliable statistics of these Polish groups; but the colony in Brazil certainly numbers over 100,000, and the Poles in North America are considered to number between two and three millions. The whole question of the numbers of the Poles is full of difficulties, as German and Russian statisticians have deliberately underestimated their numbers for political reasons; while Polish

statisticians have not the materials for a judicious estimate, and often increase their numbers from motives of patriotism. Taking the figures given above, which are only approximate, the number of Poles in the world is as follows :—

Russia	11,900,000
Germany	4,086,000
Austria	5,100,000
North America	2,000,000
Brazil	100,000
	23,186,000

The Poles, then, are a numerous people, second only to the Russians among the Slav-speaking peoples, and occupy the sixth place among the nations in Europe, coming after the Germans, Russians, English, French and Italians, but before the Spanish, Roumanians, Greeks, Yugo-Slavs, Swedes, Portuguese, Dutch and Belgians. Poland is a thickly populated country, and, even in an independent Polish State, the problem of Polish expansion and emigration will remain a difficult one. The Poles are very closely united ; they all speak the same language, and they are all Roman Catholics, except the Mazovians of East Prussia. There is not the slightest difference in language, religion or sentiment between a Pole from Russia, Austria, Prussia or America ; and the revival of a Polish State will only be an avowal of a scandalous wrong done in the past and the restoration of a large nation to its place among the States of Europe.

The real problems of Poland spring from the struggle between the Poles and the other nationalities with which they have been associated throughout their history. On her whole western ethnographic frontier Poland is in contact with the Germans, with whom the struggle

is the open clash of two distinct nationalities. But on her eastern border the problems are far more complex. The struggle between Russia and Poland was not a natural ethnical struggle, because Poles and Great Russians do not meet at any point. It was a perpetual rivalry for a large debatable land, inhabited by the Lithuanians, the White Russians and the Little Russians; and this question is so complicated that it has been dealt with in a separate chapter. Another difficult problem in Poland is the question of the Jews, who migrated to Poland in such numbers that there are now half the Jews in the world living on former Polish lands. They form over 14 per cent. of the population in the kingdom of Poland, and over a third of the inhabitants of Warsaw. Many of them have been absorbed, many are half Polish, and many are Jewish nationalists. But the Jewish question is too large to be dealt with in a book on the Poles.

The Polish language belongs to the Slavonic group of the Aryan or Indo-European languages. This Slavonic group, like the Teutonic and Latin groups, contains a number of separate languages; but these, for historical causes, have come to differ from each other widely. The Eastern Slavs took their religion and their culture from Constantinople, and adopted the Cyrillic alphabet, which was a modified form of the Greek script. The Western Slavs became Roman Catholics and adopted the Latin alphabet, now used by the peoples of Western Europe. So that, while Russian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Polish and Czech come from the same stock, the first three are written in Cyrillic letters, the last two in Latin characters. Moreover, even the peoples which use the Latin alphabet do not write all their sounds in the same way. Thus while the Czechs write *v* as we do, the Poles use *w* as the Germans do. There are four Western Slavonic languages: Polish, Czech, Slovak and Sorb,

the latter being the only survivor of the big group of West Slav languages formerly spoken in Brandenburg, Saxony and Pomerania.

The Polish language is written purely phonetically, *i.e.* each sound is always represented by one letter, or combination of letters, and by that letter only. A Polish book looks strange to us, because, although the letters are the same, the combinations of certain letters to represent certain sounds is different from those of our own language. Without going into any detailed account of the language it will be useful for the pronunciation of the Polish names mentioned in this book to give the chief differences between Polish and English.

Polish	c	=	English	ts
,,	cz, ć	=	,,	ch in *church.*
,,	sz, ś	=	,,	sh in *sherry.*
,,	dž	=	,,	j in *jam.*
,,	j	=	,,	y in *year.*
,,	w	=	,,	v in *vat.*
,,	ž	=	French	j in *jour.*
,,	rz	=	,,	,,
,,	ó	=	English	oo in *boot.*
,,	ch	=	Scotch	ch in *loch.*
,,	ą and ę are nasal sounds as in French *sont* and *en.*			

The other vowel sounds are pronounced approximately as in Italian.

By referring to these differences an Englishman may pronounce almost all Polish names. The accent or stress is invariably on the penultimate syllable. Thus the name Mickiewicz is pronounced *Mits-káy-vich*; Przemyśl is pronounced *Pshém-yshl.*

The foreigner who is learning Polish will be able to recognize many words resembling words he already knows in Latin, German or English, showing that Polish

is derived from the same Aryan language as his own tongue. A few such Polish words may be quoted :—

In Polish	*broda*	=	English	*beard.*
,,	*wola*	=	,,	*will.*
,,	*kot*	=	,,	*cat.*
,,	*mleko*	=	,,	*milk.*
,,	*woda*	=	,,	*water.*
,,	*nos*	=	,,	*nose.*
,,	*buk*	=	,,	*beech.*
,,	*gość*	=	,,	*guest.*
,,	*wino*	=	,,	*wine.*
,,	*syn*	=	,,	*son.*
,,	*siostra*	=	,,	*sister.*
,,	*brat*	=	,,	*brother.*
,,	*dolina*	=	,,	*dale,* valley.
,,	*miód*	=	,,	*mead.*
,,	*aniół*	=	,,	*angel.*
,,	*pełny*	=	Latin	*plenus,* full.
,,	*nowy*	=	,,	*novus,* new.
,,	*martwy*	=	,,	*mortuus,* dead.
,,	*są*	=	,,	*sunt* ; French *sont.*
,,	*dają*	=	,,	*dant,* they give.
,,	*widzą*	=	,,	*vident,* they see.
,,	*jest*	=	,,	*est,* he is.
,,	*ogień*	=	,,	*ignis,* fire.
,,	*siedzą*	=	,,	*sedent,* they sit.
,,	*dom*	=	,,	*domus,* house.
,,	*morze*	=	,,	*mare,* sea.

Besides the original Slav words there are many loan words in Polish, chiefly from Latin and German. All foreign words must be written in the Polish way and must conform to Polish pronunciation. Thus Shakespeare becomes in Polish *Szekspir,* Byron becomes *Bajron,* " five o'clock " becomes *fajwoklok.*

It is not an easy matter to distinguish Polish dialects

since the differences are so small, and the variations of one district merge imperceptibly into the variations of another. The philologist, Mr Krynski, has classified them as follows :—

Upper Polish dialects	Podhalian (or Carpathian). Silesian. Lesser Polish.
Middle Polish dialects	Great Polish. Kujawian. Mazovian.
Lower Polish dialects	Lower Mazovian (in Prussia). Kaszubian.

It should be observed that the influence of German is most marked in the dialects of Silesia and Prussian Mazovia. Russian influence is practically absent, but, on the other hand, Polish has influenced enormously the Little Russian or Ukrainian language.

Polish, then, is a language spoken by twenty-three million people, who cling to it with great tenacity. All attempts in Germany and Russia to absorb the Poles have failed, and even Russian officials have been forced to learn Polish. The Germans have indeed succeeded in making German the official language of their Polish provinces; but this has not had the least effect in turning the Poles into Germans. The Poles have been merely forced to use German for public purposes. Where a mixed marriage takes place, the children always become Polish, and regard their mother-tongue and their great literature as a sacred trust, to be handed down to posterity. Russian Poland, seen from a railway train before the war, would give the impression of a purely German country; but an incident which occurred to the present writer in 1911 illustrates admirably the true state of things. The conductor on a German express train was speaking German to the German

railway authorities. He also spoke Russian to Russian passengers, and even French and a little Czech. He was asked why he did not understand Polish, as we were passing through Polish territory. He said, "I am forbidden to speak Polish; if I did so, I should lose my post. But it is my native tongue. I am a Pole." This tenacity has helped the Poles to preserve their language in their own country. But over the whole region that once formed part of the Polish State, the Polish language is still the most important language, though Great Russian has become its competitor and rival. All the gentry of the White and Little Russians and Lithuanians at one time or another became Polish, and have given to Poland many of her most eminent men, such as Mickiewicz and Kościuszko. And even down to our own day, when a peasant becomes educated he has to decide what nationality he will adopt. Formerly he became inevitably a Pole. After the Partitions he might become a Russian, as the Little Russian, Gogol, did. To-day he may also join the small Intelligentsia of the Lithuanian or the Ukrainist national parties. His decision is often guided by his religion. A Pole generally distinguishes himself from a Russian or a German by saying that he is a Catholic, and not Orthodox or Lutheran. So a Little Russian peasant who is a Catholic generally regards himself as a Pole. It was an old saying among the Poles in the past: "Ex gente Ruthenorum, natione Polonus"; and this still holds good among a large part of the White Russians. The historian, Professor Korzon, who came from White Russia, told the writer that when he was at school he had to decide whether he would be a Russian or a Pole. He decided that Mickiewicz was a greater poet than Pushkin, so he became a Pole. This strong position of the Polish language has been somewhat shaken by the national movements in Lithuania and the Ukraine.

But these young nationalities cannot build up a civilization or a literature in a day, and Polish still holds a prominent place in their lands, and is still a powerful magnet to attract more backward peoples to Polish culture.

One means of judging the strength and extent of a national culture is to examine the numbers and circulation of newspapers and journals; and, despite all restrictions and widespread illiteracy, due to the repression of education, the Polish Press gives some idea of the extent of Polish civilization. Recent statistics show that the following newspapers are circulated for Polish readers:—

Daily papers	154
Weekly papers	433
Fortnightly papers	221
Monthly papers	315
Quarterly papers	76

These papers are chiefly published in the large Polish cities—Warsaw, Cracow, Lemberg, Poznań and Vilna. But there are Polish papers in most of the smaller Polish towns, and in towns outside Poland proper, such as Kiev, Petrograd, Dantzig, Berlin, Paris and Chicago. The "Grudzianz (Graudenz) Gazette" has the largest circulation (100,000 copies) in Poland, being the chief daily newspaper for West Prussia; but the weekly paper "Concord" (Zgoda), in the United States, brings out 120,000 copies. Poland stands very high in its output of scientific, literary and artistic journals. The output of Polish books in 1911 has been estimated at 3462, as compared with 11,652 for France, 10,914 for Great Britain, and 2790 for Spain.

The Polish language does not seem beautiful to a foreign ear. It is harsh and full of strong consonantal combinations, while the transformation of *r* into *rz*,

with the sound of a French *j*, has deprived it of one of the most striking and graceful sounds in human speech But it is rich and sonorous, and is always spoken with distinct articulation. The inevitable regularity of the accent on the penultimate syllable gives Polish speech a peculiar monotony, and distinguishes it especially from the kaleidoscopic changes of accent in languages like Russian or English, but it also gives it a slow, stately majesty of its own; and the effect of monotony is not felt because the stress in Polish is very light. To Slavs of other races the survival of the nasal vowels gives Polish a curious antique sound, a sort of Biblical atmosphere of its own. The language itself is a fine medium for the expression of ideas, full of flexibility and subtlety, and has been developed by Polish poets into a most perfect poetical instrument of the utmost plasticity and harmony. The Poles speak their language with a great deal of gesticulation, some of their movements being quite peculiar to themselves. A curious feature is that a conversation between two Poles gives a foreigner the impression of a violent quarrel, owing not only to their gesticulation, but to their vehemence of speech and to the unusual inflections of their voice, which are interrogative and challenging, in sentences where our inflections would be sedate and tranquil. Even an admission or an agreement, as in the words "Well, yes" (in Polish, *no tak*), are uttered in an argumentative, almost querulous, tone of voice. The writer, who did not know the language well when he first visited Poland, was often deceived in this way. An excited dialogue, which seemed about to culminate in a duel, would turn out to be merely the acceptance of an invitation to dinner. On the other hand, a recital of the most atrocious wrongs inflicted by Germany or Russia on the Poles would often be told in a quiet, reserved way. The Poles are almost always great

conversationalists, and talk never seems to stagnate. Latterly a movement towards a greater purity of language has grown up, and some attempts have been made to substitute native Polish words for some of the words of German origin. Certainly to a foreigner the alien words, used especially by journalists, are hideously ugly. Such a word as *Konstitucya*, for instance, is used instead of the far more harmonious word *uprawa*, and such atrocities as *interviewowac* (to interview) are perpetuated in newspapers.

It is surprising that so few Western Europeans take the trouble to learn Polish, which is the most accessible Slav language, and opens a door to a community of charming and interesting people and to a poetical and artistic world of unsurpassed beauty. Polish is spoken by twenty-three million people, and has, besides, a strong position in the melting-pot of peoples in East Central Europe, so that it may still make great conquests, and will at any rate take up a high position among the languages of the civilized world.

CHAPTER III

NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

POLAND is so far from our country, and the historical relations of the British people with the Poles have been so few, that we have no distinct picture of the Polish character. And yet there are few peoples have more in common than the Poles and ourselves; few who would regard each other with more sympathy, or benefit by closer mutual relations. In this country we only know the Polish Jew, who is sometimes called simply a "Pole," and is sometimes given the extraordinary name of a "Russian Pole." We know to some extent the Polish musician, the long-haired artist; in a less degree the patriotic dreamer. During our travels to European health resorts and places of amusement, we have met the Polish "Count," with his suspicious skill at card games, his susceptibility to feminine charm, and his vague cosmopolitan detachment—a citizen of the world, flitting about between Paris, Ostend and the Riviera. The name Pole, then, would seem to call up before our minds no distinct picture beyond a few blurred caricatures and a vague feeling of suspicion and distrust, were it not that we have been given a more definite picture of Polish characteristics by other people who are more closely in touch with Polish society. Such a picture is given us by the French, and is based on their experience of the Emigrants of 1831, who mostly settled in Paris and left there a strong tradition of their political

romanticism; and the outlines have been shaded in from our own knowledge of the great part played by the Polish people in the period of unrest, associated with the national struggles from 1848 down to the present war. The canvas here is full of artists, dreamers, schemers, conspirators and warriors. The type is well described in Disraeli's "Lothair"—the "general" who is ready to fight for any national cause, and the attic conspirator who plots the overthrow of the European system from a slum in Soho. The French have worked up this picture with a great deal of rhetoric, some sympathy and a little contempt. The Pole is "*ce grand patriote*," an unpractical dreamer and a *poseur* deserving of great support in theory, but rather difficult to live with in practice. Many an exiled Pole has lived for years with great prestige as a Marshall or Prince in Paris, without a shadow of claim to these titles. An almost intolerable atmosphere of intensity and mystery surrounded these black-hatted, black-cloaked patriots. The French ideal has been a little dimmed since the Frenchman invested his money in Russia; and the colder feeling of the Poles for France since the Russian alliance and the attack on the Church is perhaps the reason for the survival in the French mind of a type that had quite disappeared in recent times. This Frenchified Pole is somewhat of a caricature of an actual Polish type, that was produced in the Emigration by despair and a long residence abroad. It never existed in fact in Poland, or among any group of genuine Poles. It was a fair testimony to the disappearance of this type when Bernard Shaw chose a Bulgarian instead of a Pole for his comic hero in "Arms and the Man." With the advance of our knowledge to-day, a Bulgarian would no longer serve for satire of this kind, still less would a Pole.

Far more serious and more based on reality—or rather

on a malicious perversion of reality—are the Russian and German views of the Polish character, which were formed long ago, and have grown into a legend which it will take many years to eradicate. The most serious and the most malignant is the German, or rather the Prussian, view of the Pole, which arose at the time of the first Partition, and was, in fact, part of Frederick's case in defence of that scandalous transaction. In his search for some ground for interference in Polish affairs, Frederick II hit on the religious question. He found that there were in Poland a small number of Lutheran Germans and a large Orthodox population. Religious toleration had been a leading feature of Polish rule, but during the decline of Polish education in the eighteenth century, certain manifestations of intolerance appeared, and all citizens not of the Roman Catholic religion, who were known as "Dissidents," were, by a law passed in 1717, excluded from all State offices. This state of affairs—which had long existed in most countries of Europe, especially in England—gave Frederick his chance. He interfered in Poland ostensibly to protect the Protestant population from persecution. He found ready support in all the Protestant countries, where men were as ignorant of Poland as they were of Prussia, and joined readily in the cry of "no Popery." Voltaire, who was opposed to religion in general, supported his friend; and the cynical deist and the satirical iconoclast soon had all the zealous Protestants in Europe, hot from the persecution of their own Dissenters, clamouring against the intolerance of a people who had for centuries harboured a large Jewish population and the most extreme religious sects in Europe. The second pretext for interference in Poland was the alleged danger of Polish anarchy. Now Polish anarchy really meant the inability of Poland to curb the aggression of her neighbours, especially Prussia and Russia; and it was a vital

principle of these two Powers—a principle embodied in all the constitutions they forced on Poland—that Polish anarchy should be preserved. This accusation against Poland was used after the event, to justify the Partitions. There was sufficient truth in it to convince the rest of Europe, because Poland had attempted to preserve a Parliamentary system of Government in the heart of autocratic Europe. Polish education had so far declined that this liberal Constitution had temporarily ceased to work, and Englishmen were so blinded by arrogance and insularity that they did not see that the Polish Constitution was very like their own, and that the failure of Polish constitutionalism was more creditable to a nation than the success of Prussian regimentation. The world was not to know till 1918 which of the two was the best—soulless Prussian efficiency or the Polish tradition of freedom. Directly Poland began to set her house in order Prussia attempted to restore the system of anarchy; and when this policy failed she divided Poland with Russia and Austria.

A third accusation brought against Poland by Prussia was the prevalence of serfdom in Poland and the excessive political power of the Polish gentry. This point has been carefully stressed by historians ever since, but they quite omit to mention that serfdom was then prevalent all over Central and Eastern Europe. In fact Poland, in 1794, was the first nation outside Western Europe to declare all its peasants free. This was not done in Prussia till 1823, in Austria till 1848, and in Russia till 1861. This Polish reform was not carried out, simply because the Polish State fell in the next year; but it was left on record as the deliberate policy of the Polish reformers, and was only revoked by Prussia and Russia themselves. Moreover, though serfdom was bad in Poland, it was alleviated by the easy-going, patriarchal character of the Polish squires, and was far more

endurable than in Prussia or Russia, from which country many serfs ran away to work on Polish estates. There were no peasant revolts in Poland except in the Little Russian provinces, where the risings were due to religious differences.

To this Prussian view of the Poles, Russia added one more accusation: that the Poles were Jacobins and adherents of the doctrines of the French Revolution. Catherine II in 1793–5 considered that by refraining from interference in France, and crushing the Poles, she was doing as great a service to the cause of law and order in Europe as the allies were doing in the west. That Prussia should attack Poland for being a land of aristocrats, tyrannical landowners and religious fanatics, and that Russia should simultaneously attack the same country as a nest of Jacobins, free-thinkers and democrats, is sufficient testimony to the moderation of Polish reforms and to the groundlessness of the charges against her. But the legend was created, and it partly accounts for the astonishing indifference of Western Europe to the fate of Poland. The legend persisted, and England, with thoughts of Ireland and Popery, created quite a small literature on the religious persecutions in Poland, based on an isolated affair which happened at Toruń in 1734. The present writer has seen in Polish libraries gruesome pictures dating from this period, with such titles as "A Protestant clergyman being burnt in Lithuania," evidently drawn in quite good faith that such were the ordinary amusements of the Papist gentry of Poland. These legends accumulated fresh material when it became necessary to justify the oppression of Poland in the nineteenth century, and were sedulously collected and spread by the Germans during their anti-Polish campaign of 1870–1912. Their chief charge was that the Poles were incapable of governing themselves—an expanded form of the legend of Polish anarchy of

the preceding century. The Prussians also asserted that the Poles belonged to a group of feminine races, destined, like the Celts, to be ruled by the stronger, more masculine races such as the Teutons. The school of historical thought that had such vogue in England under Green and Freeman was formulated as a complete political and racial philosophy by Prussia. All the Slavs, like the Celts, were second-class peoples, divided by faction, prone to intrigue, incapable of government, and fit only for poetry, art and music. Furthermore, they were barbarians, a low but prolific race, only equalled by rabbits in their fertility. Like the rodents to Australia, they were a constant menace to the eastern marches of civilized Germany. All these fictions were readily believed by an ignorant, credulous Europe, to which not only German efficiency and German world-power, but the whole Teutonic theory had become a fetish. So convincing was the German theory, and so completely supported by the facts of the situation at the time, that many Poles, especially in the time of despair that followed the failure of their revolutions, almost came to believe it. The Poles are always introspective, self-critical, prone to dreaming and receptive of theories; and they found here a mass of theories and facts which it was hard to combat. Luckily, behind the Polish gentry was the hard, incontrovertible fact of the existence of the less imaginative Polish peasant, who knew none of these legends, and was occupied in the sturdy defence of his land and his native language with a tenacity that baffled the Prussian theorists. These weak, disunited "barbarians" had fought the German colonists on the Oder since the tenth century, and they were still there. They had lost their State, and they still remained stubbornly Polish. Even the taunt of *polnische wirtschaft*, Polish inefficiency, Polish lack of method and organization, ceased to be true after the

labours of Wawrzyniak and Jackowski (see Chapter X.). The fact was, the Prussian had fought the Pole, in war and peace, for a thousand years, and had failed to conquer him. The German wave had flowed into Poland after the Tartar raids, and had slowly receded. It was only the Partitions which had enabled Prussia to resume the advance, and again the wave had flowed, only to ebb more swiftly. The German did not despise the Pole for his shortcomings. He feared him for his strength. The Prussian theorists had given to Germany and to Europe a view of Poland that was generally accepted, but they were fully conscious of its falsity themselves.

The Russians accepted the Prussian claim, in the main, but without their view of the Slavs as a whole. And they added other charges of their own. Flushed with triumph at the defeat of their hereditary rival for political supremacy in the eastern plain, they overwhelmed their fallen enemies with every insult, less systematically, less contemptuously than the Germans, but with far more malice and brutality. The Russian reproach against the Poles was an accusation of treachery and fickleness. The Russians could not understand why, although they had forced the Poles to swear allegiance to the Tsar, the latter should still continue to resist Russian rule. The fact that educated Russians came into contact with educated Poles, and friendly, if not cordial, relations were often opened up, where many ideas were found to be common to both—this very contact with men of his own kind, as he thought, puzzled the individual Russian. When his Polish friend subsequently joined some rebellion or political party, the Russian could only regard it as amazing treachery and deceit. The Pole had, in fact, to keep a secret portion of his life unknown to the official world,

> "Caverns there were within his mind which sun
> Could never penetrate,"

so that he was indeed double-faced from the Russian point of view. In ordinary life and under normal conditions the Pole and Russian could get on very well together. Although the differences of Latin and Byzantine traditions, of the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches, have made a wide cultural gulf between them, their common heritage of Slavdom gives them many characteristics in common. The Russian attitude was little more than the gloating of a *parvenu* over the fallen aristocrat whom he used to envy, admire and imitate.

Far more serious, in recent times, have been the charges levelled against the Poles by the Jews. At one time Poland was almost the only country which tolerated the Jews; and the result was that over half the Jews in the world took up their residence in Polish lands. Poland did not admit them to citizenship—they remained a class separate from the gentry and peasants alike—but she gave them free power to manage all their own affairs. They were treated with genial, if slightly scornful, tolerance by the gentry, with neighbourly kindness but with some antipathy by the peasants, for whom they were both heretics and usurers. The best of relations existed till the end of last century. Large numbers of Jews were assimilated and became patriotic Poles. But in recent years a bitter hatred has grown up between the Jews and Poles for several reasons. As Russian and Prussian oppression increased and Polish resistance stiffened, the Jews, where they did not actually support the prevailing power, yet by their mere passivity and inaction became a danger to the Polish element, which was forced to devote all its resources to self-defence. Moreover, a generation of Jews, in Lithuania and the Ukraine, was growing up in Russian schools and was acquiring a scorn for everything Polish. Owing to the pogroms and the harsh laws

against the Jews in their own country, they began to migrate into the kingdom of Poland, and not only to display great arrogance and antagonism to everything Polish, but to infect the older Jewish residents with their antipathies. A movement grew up among these immigrants not only to resist assimilation, but to make wide national claims of their own to parts of Poland. The Jews, with their cosmopolitan outlook and their close touch with Germany, became also the chief supporters of Social Democracy in Poland, and formed a revolutionary association of their own called the "Bund." But the deepest cause of Jewish hatred for the Poles lies in the recent growth of a Polish middle class, and the attempt to eliminate the Jewish usurer from the village. This policy was peacefully carried out in Poznania, which has now ceased to be a Jewish area. But the struggle in Russian Poland led to a boycott of the Jews, and roused the bitterest feelings of hostility among them. Although it is essential to the Poles to raise the economic position of the peasant, and to create a national middle class, it is a bitter blow for the Jews, as it strikes at their principal means of livelihood, at their position as the middlemen of the Polish villages. A campaign of calumny has been directed against the Poles wherever there are Jews, and their world-wide dispersion makes these attacks particularly efficacious. They attack the Polish gentry principally. But it is not a legitimate attack. The gentry were always tolerant of the Jews. It is the rise of the Polish peasant they resent, and if any anti-Semitic outbreaks occur in Poland they will be among the newly-educated peasants. The Jewish attacks have chiefly been directed against the National Democrat party (see Chapter VI.), and have been incidentally of enormous service to German propaganda. It is difficult to see how a Polish national party could avoid such an attitude under Russian rule.

Now that Poland is to be free, it is to be hoped the Jews will renew their former friendly relations with the Poles, though the economic problem will remain. The Jewish papers have thus attacked Polish nationalism with even more virulence and persistence than they attacked the Russian autocracy, and no one has benefitted by it except Germany.

Lastly, despite our ignorance of Poland in this country, there have been many Englishmen who have opened up friendly relations with Poland; and no country is more admired and respected by the Poles than Great Britain. The tradition dates from the Polish Revolution of 1830. Many of the Polish exiles came to England, chief among them Niemcewicz, who had married an American lady. This group of exiles enlisted the sympathies of many eminent Englishmen, especially the poet Thomas Campbell, who mispronounced the name of the Polish hero in his famous poem. The Society of the Friends of Poland was founded in London, and survives to this day. But the chief friend of Poland was the chivalrous Lord Dudley Stuart, who defended the Polish cause for many years in and out of Parliament. Later on fresh relations were opened at the time of the Crimean War. Wladyslaw Zamoyski—scion of a distinguished Polish family, many members of which had been educated at Edinburgh University, and had imported Scotsmen to manage their estates—tried to form a regiment of Polish Cossacks to fight for Turkey during the Crimean War. The writer has in his possession several letters from Zamoyski to W. Savage Landor, asking for his support in this project. In recent times many Poles have settled in this country, and formed among us for the first time a circle of real Polish life. Some of them have even become so far anglicized as to contribute to English literature, in particular Mr and Mrs Voynich, Dorothea Gerard and Joseph Conrad.

But the majority of English writers have remained ignorant of Poland, and in particular our historians have been allured by the glamour of the German Teutonic School. Most accounts of Polish history have been drawn from German sources, and have been written by men quite ignorant of the Polish language who have never been in Poland. A notable exception was the late Mr Nisbet Bain, the great pioneer in the study of Polish history. Another pioneer, Professor Morfill, was too much under Russian influence. "The Cambridge Modern History" contains, for the first time, articles by an eminent Polish historian, Professor Askenazy of Lemberg University.

The greatest friend of Poland has been the United States of America. The help given to America by Polish volunteers in the War of Independence, and the presence of so many Poles there to-day, have stirred Americans to take an interest in Poland, and a Chair of Polish exists at Harvard University. Statues have been erected in Washington and elsewhere to Kościuszko and Pulaski; and many Polish institutions have received the support of Americans. The present writer came into contact in Warsaw with several eminent American students of Poland, notably Mr R. H. Lord, who has published a fine monograph on the Second Partition, and Professor W. J. Thomas of Chigaco, who is studying the Poles from a sociological point of view. Professor Noyes has published an excellent translation of "Pan Tadeusz" in English; and many other translations of Polish, as of other Slavonic works, are being published in New York. Above all, the Polish question is well understood by President Wilson and Colonel House, and the settlement of the Polish problem is being largely inspired by the knowledge and sympathy of these eminent friends of Poland.

No national character is so congenial to the Poles as

the Anglo-Saxon; and if we acquaint ourselves with Polish habits we will find more in common with our own mode of life than in any other country. Polish history, the Polish manner of life, Polish thought and literature, are in their broad lines curiously akin to our own, though they differ considerably in detail owing to the different conditions of our existence. The chief characteristic of the Pole is his sturdy individualism. This quality reveals itself in his private life, in his strong self-expression sometimes bordering on fantasy, in his impatience of discipline and control; it is seen in the lives of Polish men of science and artists; it runs riot in the history of Polish State-making. Polish history is, all through, an attempt to protect the rights of the individual, and is in glaring contrast, on one side, to the subservience of the Muscovite nobles to the autocracy round which the Russian State grew up; to the horde life of the Turco-Tartar nomads; and, on the other, to the German city State, with its guild associations and its bourgeois ideals; and to the bureaucratic ideals of Austria and Prussia, with their centralization, their hereditary diplomats and their standing armies. Above all, Polish individualism has been a standing protest against Prussian State-made efficiency, against the rule of a government machine, and the slavery of the citizen to the interests of the State. When some kind of higher political integration first grew up in Poland, this feeling expressed itself in provincialism. The Polish clans entered as individual units into State and social life. Each clan took a coat of arms, and all its members were free and equal. The chief political institution was not the central *Sejm* or Parliament, but the local *Sejmik* or Diet, the representative of which could defeat all measures in the central body by the use of the *liberum veto*. Polish Parliamentarism only reluctantly recognized the right of a majority to coerce

a minority, and this individual self-assertion ultimately led to the decay of the Polish Constitution. Polish individualism would not permit the rise of an aristocracy. There were no titles in Poland, but many proverbs to the effect that "a gentleman on his estate is equal to a *Wojewoda*" (Lord-Lieutenant of a province). Very few permanent administrative institutions grew up in Poland, but many customs for the protection of individuals. Such were the *liberum veto* and the Confederation, which legalized the resistance of a group to the law of the land. Neither monarchy nor oligarchy took any hold on this community, proud of its republican equality. But some discipline was necessary to secure social stability, and this was found in the Catholic Church. This connexion with Rome did not conflict with Polish sentiment. It was compatible with the doctrine of equality. It upheld the dignity of the individual, and it imposed moral and not political restraints on the turbulent Polish character. But something more than this was necessary to ensure the survival of a Polish State, namely, education and patriotism. No social community, purely dependent on individual effort, can survive, unless the individual member of it is enlightened enough to bear the heavy responsibilities that rest on him. So that, so long as the individual Pole was sufficiently educated to carry out the duties of a citizen—to serve in the army, grant and pay taxes, and respect the rights of other individuals—the Polish community flourished. But with the advent of the Jesuits education was limited to a few sterile theological concepts. Then the Polish State declined, until a great revival of education and patriotism took place in the eighteenth century. Polish individualism, in the dark days of oppression, has had to compromise with the requirements of its position, to realize the importance of duties as well as rights, and to yield as much as was necessary to the needs of the

complex social machinery of to-day. But a fervent attachment to individual rights is still deeply implanted in the Polish character; and in every Parliament, society, or school where there are Poles, they have struggled obstinately for rights against authority. The Polish peasant has fought a similar fight, in a narrower field, for his plot of land. In contrast to the communal system in Russia, Polish landownership is based on peasant proprietorship, and the peasants to-day form a bulwark against all ideas of Social Democracy and Communism. Patriotism is the chief link in this individualistic society, and Polish history and literature are the most important subjects in any educational curriculum, because they are an essential bond between the members of a community that has a weak conception of the State as an organism. Polish individualism has stamped itself indelibly in the originality and distinction of Polish art and science. Some of the greatest discoveries of all time have been made by individual Poles working in no direct connexion with academic schools. Copernicus' great discoveries, and Mde Curie's services to science, are only to be explained on this theory, and the appearance of isolated examples of Polish genius, as poets, artists and virtuosi, goes to confirm it.

A second Polish quality, naturally following on the first, is a wide spirit of toleration. Toleration was consistently practised throughout the religious history of Poland, especially in the treatment of the Jews, which seemed almost incredibly lax to foreigners. There were no religious persecutions in Poland at the time of the Reformation. All sects were tolerated. Only during the decline of enlightenment, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was there any sign of religious intolerance; and then it was closely associated with political antipathies, *e.g.* a feeling against the Lutheran

because he was a German, and against the Little Russian because of his turbulence, and because of the aggressive attitude of Orthodox Moscow. To-day, the Pole is distinguished for his tolerant attitude to all peoples, his receptivity of all ideas, and for the ease with which he accommodates himself to foreign conditions and customs.

Perhaps life on an open plain, with all the contact with foreign peoples it entails, accounts for this Polish characteristic. The Pole never condemns alien manners as such. He views them with interest and curiosity. He is intensely self-critical, and is ready to admit the superiority of other institutions and methods to his own. His attitude is the antithesis of the proverbial British scorn for foreigners. He is perfectly at home in the cosmopolitan health resorts of Western Europe, and is in this respect a true citizen of the world. The feeling has been brought out by the Polish poets, especially in Krasiński's ideal of "good will." When oppression has ended in Poland, the Pole will no longer cherish any animosity against his neighbours. In fact his admiration for certain aspects of German civilization nearly led at one time to his assimilation by Germany. Now that old animosities are tending to disappear, the Polish idea of "good will" may become an important factor in the evolution of European internationalism in the future. This Polish feeling of brotherhood with other peoples is especially strong where it comes into contact with Western Europe, particularly France, Italy and, in recent years, England. This is due to the strength of the Latin tradition in Poland. The Poles were among the last peoples to adopt Latin civilization, and they welcomed it with the fanaticism of the convert. Moreover, circumstances had left them a long way behind the West in the arts of civilization. They had much ground to cover in order to catch up with the West; and they were on the borders of the Roman

world, in close contact both with paganism, with the Mohammedan nomads, and with Byzantine Greek civilization, then stagnant and reactionary. There commenced a religious and secular rivalry between the Orthodox Russians and the Catholic Poles; and Poland was proud to regard herself as a bulwark of Latin civilization against the East. Though the contempt with which Poles regard their Oriental neighbours is hardly justifiable, her attitude towards the West is one of the prime factors in her national life and character. To-day Europe still forms a community with common ideals and manners that are familiar to us all. This community includes Poland. Brest Litewski is on the border of this European society, and beyond that city we feel ourselves on unfamiliar ground. This resolute "Westernism" is a fundamental factor in Polish life. It explains much of her strength and many of her weaknesses. Poland might have been far more successful if she had been content to arrange her national life on a lower level, if she had been willing to compromise with Moscow. But Western ideas were her great stimulus to progress; and Western arts and institutions were rapidly imported and imposed on a social community that was not ripe to receive them, and could not at once assimilate them. This to some extent explains the gulf between the two classes in Poland, the gentry and peasants; it explains the curious spectacle of a splendid culture imposed on a squalid material foundation. It explains the deep-rooted attachment of the Poles to ideas and phrases, where the reality was absent.

At a time when the Polish village was notorious for its poverty and squalor, the culture and breeding at the Court in Warsaw deeply impressed travellers like our historian Coxe. Imitation, in fact, has been deeply rooted in the Polish character by the circumstances of her development, and it is strong to-day. First

Germany, then Italy, France, England and America have had their day as models for Polish imitation. In every Polish country house you will find the relics of some fashion from abroad, some special language and customs studied and practised. The attachment to the Roman Church is one way in which this feeling has found expression, and through all modern Polish history it was Roman republicanism that formed the ideal of the republican gentry. The Roman precedent was even quoted to justify serfdom, which was a modified form of Roman slavery. The use of the Latin language was universal in Poland well into the eighteenth century, and many words from Latin have been assimilated by the Polish language and have added to its vocabulary and its expressiveness. But this noble tradition has often been abused, and has degenerated into capricious and fantastic emulation of foreigners and scorn for native manners. It made the Polish gentleman more remote from the peasant, to whom he was not only a master, but a foreign, somewhat exotic, neighbour. The civilization of the manor, even allowing for social and cultural differences, had very little in common with the life of the cottage. The poet Slowacki, in a moment of bitter self-criticism, called Poland "the peacock and the parrot of the nations." During the age of romanticism and emigration there was some justification for this reproach. Poland adopted a great deal of the superficial culture of France, without copying the deeper French qualities. There is little doubt that this French influence was bad for Poland. It was an imitation of the Salon, of French coquetry and intrigue, of artistic and literary ideals that were quite alien to Polish national propensities. Polish soldiers and Polish secret societies were encouraged and exploited by France, without any direct gain to Poland. To-day this craze for imitation expresses itself in more practical

ways, especially in the economic and industrial world, and is a factor of considerable importance in the progress of Poland.

The Poles, like all the Slavs, are highly imaginative. This quality expresses itself in many ways. It sometimes results in complete intellectual sterility, a complete absence of will power, as in Russian "Oblomovism." It more often leads to dreaming and mysticism. The Pole has always had an intense appreciation of beauty of an abstract, evanescent kind. This faculty has found its expression in poetry, in music, and is always seen in the eyes of every Pole. There are many words in Polish meaning "yearning," "sad, sweet contemplation," "thirsting," "imagination," which we do not use to any great extent in our language. It is the origin of the great feeling for beauty and the mysticism revealed in Polish music, painting and poetry. It is one of the cherished qualities of the Polish race, that has already contributed much to the unique charm of Polish art, and will contribute more in the future. This same power of imagination also expresses itself in the Polish attitude to the world. The commonest adjective in Polish is sympathetic, *sympatyczny*. A fresh acquaintance, a new idea, a new dress—all are alike sympathetic. The reason would seem to be that Polish imagination is so strong that it sees all sides of a person or an object. It plays round the stranger like a light breeze, surrounds him with sympathy and accepts him. Even a Russian or German would be received with this sympathy as an individual, though national antipathies would step in and obscure the relationship. It is difficult to explain such subtleties, but every one who has met many Polish people will understand this sensation of being brought into contact with a personality that is warm, receptive, intelligently charitable, and disposed to sympathize and accept,

without knowledge or intellectual effort, but on instinct alone. It constitutes the great charm of Polish society and gives it its distinctive atmosphere. Imagination also gives the Polish character that critical power and detachment that is the basis of humour. There are no people with more geniality, more wit and with a more intense enjoyment of life than the Poles. They dance, sing, eat and converse with a zest and satisfaction that we Britons can only envy. The present writer visited Poland at one of the gloomiest periods of her history. Yet nowhere has he spent happier hours of social intercourse, nowhere has he found such a complete knowledge of the art of life. The laborious efforts of an English hostess to amuse her guests would seem superfluous, if not ridiculous, in Poland. Put three or four Poles into a room and they will amuse themselves, whether they are friends or strangers. A vivid imagination, an insatiable curiosity, and an intense interest in life and ideas are the gifts of every Pole; and the interplay of these qualities creates conversation quite spontaneously. It is true, political events are reflected at all Polish meetings; but hate, despair and protest only flash momentarily across the picture, hover in the air, and are soon exorcised by the amazing volatility, the resurgent optimism of this gifted people. Even from a reading of Polish literature one would expect to find a dismal society in Poland, an atmosphere of doubt, disillusionment and despair. But anyone who has visited Poland will have found this gloom to be somewhat of a literary pose, perhaps even a reaction against the gaiety of social intercourse.

Imagination influences the Poles in many other ways. They are great travellers. There are few more interesting volumes of adventure than the travels of Beniowski, a guerilla warrior of the rebellion at Bar in 1769, who visited Siberia and ultimately found his way

to Madagascar. The islands which Togo used for his base in the Russo-Japanese War were once called the Potocki Islands, and a Polish traveller, Strzelecki, first explored the mountains of Australia, and named one of them after his national hero Kościuszko. Poles in Siberian exile have made good use of their enforced journeys. A whole literature exists in Polish about the aborigines of Siberia, and the Siberian tales of Sieroszewski are among the gems of modern Polish literature. On all the railway routes of Europe Poles can be met, and no one has stayed long in Switzerland, Belgium or France without coming into contact with this ubiquitous people, and observing that the Poles are the life and soul of every party. Polish romanticism, the belief in the revival of Poland, and the intense desire to share in all movements that might lead to it, have always drawn eager volunteers from Poland to participate in all kinds of adventures. Above all, Polish imagination finds its supreme expression in the music of Chopin and the poetry of Mickiewicz and his successors. The great poet has let his imagination play round the beautiful Lithuanian country-side and the simple life of the Polish country house, and he has created imperishable visions of grandeur and beauty.

Lastly, Polish imagination, since the end of the eighteenth century, has been centred on the problem of Poland, and has given rise to that burning patriotism of which Poland, as the most harshly oppressed of all the nations, has been the chief exponent. The lot of the Pole has not been less bitter, in that he has imagined more intensely and felt more keenly the position of his country. The self-sacrifice, heroism and human achievement to which this patriotic fervour has carried him are too well known to be repeated here. But it was chiefly his vivid imagination, and the intense appreciation it gave him of his country's wrongs, which dragged

the Pole from a peaceful life in his country house to enter the whirlpool of the national struggle. It inspired women to heroic deeds—witness the astonishing military career of Emília Plater in the war of 1830. One recent instance of this devotion may be cited here. A number of Polish soldiers, who were serving against Russia in the Polish legion of the Austrian army, on hearing of the collapse of the Russian army, decided to abandon Austria and fight for the Allies in the West against their second foe, Germany. Some of them succeeded in getting through to Archangel. Others were captured by the Austrians. They were imprisoned at Marmaros Sziget to await their trial as deserters and traitors. At the same time the Polish party in the Austrian Parliament was conducting important negotiations with the Government with regard to the future of Poland. Hearing of the unhappy situation of their fellow-countrymen, the Polish deputies discussed the possibility of abating their claims, if Austria would spare the lives of these prisoners. Shortly after, there came to the Polish leaders a message from the doomed legionaries to the effect that they strongly urged the Polish leaders not to take into account their fate. They would be happy to die, rather than barter away a single one of their country's rights.

The Polish qualities already discussed are fairly well known to most educated people. But there are deeper Polish qualities of which we have been hitherto quite ignorant. The results of the Polish efforts at national rehabilitation have revealed to Europe an almost incredible tenacity. Beneath the more dazzling virtues of the Polish race lies this dogged, tenacious spirit, which accounts for the survival of the Polish people after the fall of their State, and for the amazing success of their long struggle with the Germans. It exists among all classes. The peasant has shown it in his resolute

defence of his plot of land and his language. It is the theme of the famous novel, the "Outpost," by Glowacki. The gentry possess it, and have shown it in their attachment to their language and literature, in their desperate struggles for independence, and in the great educational and economic organization they have built up. It is only necessary to refer the reader to the chapters dealing with the evolution of the Polish community in Prussia to show this tenacity at its highest. But what is not so generally known is the way in which this tenacity has been expressed in life and thought. The *advocatus diaboli* may say that such tenacity is largely a quality of the Polish peasant, in fact of every peasant, and that the gentry were only forced to fight because of the danger of extermination. But the same spirit is seen in almost every sphere of Polish life. It is latent in every Pole. Under his volatility and seeming frivolity the Pole possesses an enormous capacity for hard work, mental or physical, and a unique ability for concentration. It has been widely displayed in the harsh conditions of education in Prussia and Russia. The Polish boy was forced to learn at school and to pass examinations in German or Russian. Otherwise he must serve in the ranks of the army, and could not hold any office or position in the State. Besides these courses in a foreign language, which were arduous enough, every Polish boy voluntarily attended private Polish schools, and passed examinations in Polish about the same time as in Russian. This attachment to his native language involved a fearful mental strain and tremendous application, but was always performed as a matter of course by all educated Poles. Again, the Poles, who had not been accustomed to overwork themselves in the days of their independence, directly they realized the necessity of application to national work, set about their task with a devotion and dogged tenacity that has

borne rich fruits. Nowhere were these qualities more abundantly displayed than in the task of educating the children of the peasants. Women took a great part in the work; and the writer has met several ladies who have been imprisoned for holding classes in Polish, and always returned to their task of teaching, as if it were a simple matter of duty. It is because the Poles themselves take these tasks and dangers so placidly, accept them as a matter of course, and never boast about their exploits, that foreigners seldom notice or hear of them. The tenacious spirit of the Poles is most revealed in this attachment to education in the face of so many obstacles. They realize fully the terrible results of their neglect of education in the past, and they have almost made a fetish of it to-day. Education for the needs of practical life is forced on every Pole by his position; but besides this, learning is held in high repute in Poland for its own sake. Nowhere in the world, not even in Germany, is science so much held in honour. The dedication of a whole life to some special branch of science is congenial to the Polish mind, and nowhere will there be such rich human material for the gradual acquisition of learning. If we add to the wonderful imagination of the Pole, his capacity for plodding, we can realize how Poland has produced, in Mde Curie, one of the greatest scientists of our time. The Poles are also tremendously attached to their national poetry, and especially to their history. Very characteristic in this respect is the life of the late Professor Korzon, whose work and its results have been mentioned in another chapter. He was born during the romantic period, of Lithuanian, or rather, White Russian stock. He became a Pole by conviction, after reading the poems of Mickiewicz. He took part in a revolutionary movement in 1861, and lay in prison expecting sentence of death. He was, however, sent into exile, and remained

at Orenburg, on the borders of Turkestan, for seventeen years. On his return, he was unable to concentrate his attention on history, to which he was devoted by training and by disposition. He was forced to become a clerk in the Vienna railway at Warsaw. He worked there all day, and studied and wrote history in his attic at night, buying an occasional book when he could afford it and studying in the Warsaw libraries. He gradually became known as the leading Polish historian of his day, and from his humble room attacked the professors of the Cracow School of History, till his views won acceptance and he was honoured by Cracow University itself. At last he received the position of Librarian of the library of Count Zamoyski in Warsaw, which he organized and directed, and where he founded an informal school of Polish history. The present writer had the good fortune to study Polish history and historical method in general under him. He was the *beau idéal* of a man of science, a hard worker, cautious, scrupulous and methodical. His ideal of the duties of an historian were very high, and he was conscientious almost to pedantry. He would tolerate nothing but the best. One can never forget, when a young historian would bring before the master what he thought was an original monograph, how Korzon would dismiss him with the scornful sentence, "A mere compilation!" Although his own work resulted in the revival of a more favourable attitude to the past of Poland, he never indulged in meretricious ornament or flourishes. His task was research—to drag from documents a mass of solid facts and co-ordinate them,—and his book on the reign of the last King of Poland is an amazing monument of industry, the only attempt at theorizing being an appendix summarizing the causes of the fall of Poland. Korzon died during the War, and his loss to Poland will be deeply felt. He was a dogged worker, a sound

historian, and, in a wider sphere, a great patriot and citizen of Poland. Of his exceeding hospitality and kindness to a stranger it is not the place to speak here.

It must be borne in mind, when speaking of the Polish character, that there were formerly two quite separate communities in Poland, and that they have only recently begun to blend. The *Szlachta*, or gentry, have a different tradition to that of the peasants, though the disparity between them has been much exaggerated by the enemies of Poland. The Polish gentry in the past certainly displayed the imaginative rather than the tenacious side of the Polish character. But this does not mean that they were weak or effeminate. As individuals they were extraordinarily virile. They were great soldiers, and the Polish cavalry became famous all over Europe. The name Uhlan is of Polish origin; and the Polish lancers, who served in the Guard of Napoleon, and acquired a great reputation by their heroism at Samo-Sierra and in other battles, were imitated in every army in Europe. The lance was the chief weapon of the Polish cavalry; and the uniform of our lancers to-day, with its blue coat, white front and curious little cap, is the national costume of part of Poland. The Poles were great horsemen and fearless sportsmen, hunting the bear, the wolf, and the great bison in their forests. They also developed that fine chivalry which has survived to-day and makes them the most courteous people in Europe. Fine manners, a deep respect for woman, and a stately old world ceremoniousness are the inheritance of every Pole. The custom of using the third person in conversation, like the French *Monsieur*, is characteristic. The Polish gentleman addresses only his nearest relatives as *ty* (thou), his friend as *wy* (you), and all others as *Pan* (a word once meaning "lord" but now simply *monsieur*). This practice has now descended to the lower class. In particular, waiters now

exact the use of *Pan* from customers, and the curious sight can be seen of two cabmen, or even beggars, doffing their hats and addressing each other as *Pan*. The second person of the Imperative is thus hardly ever used. The peasants also are slowly adopting the same usage, though there is a curious survival of the Dual Imperative, used with complete disregard of its original meaning. Bows and gestures are magnificent in Poland, as is natural in a nation of dancers; and curious courtly expressions have survived, such as, "I kiss your hands," "I fall at your hands and feet," which sound strange in the mouth of a modern shopkeeper. It is the invariable custom after dinner for all the guests to kiss the hand of the hostess. A by-product of this courtliness among the Poles is a respect for convention, a class feeling, and a snobbishness quite equal to our own. The conventions in Poland are very closely observed—a striking contrast to the social freedom enjoyed in Russia. Caste prejudice used to be very common among the Polish *szlachta*, and still survives. Some Polish gentlemen call themselves Count during their residence in Western Europe, and most of the *szlachta* preserve a purely sentimental pride in their coats of arms and their lineage. The Poles are, in fact, the aristocrats of the Slavonic race and of Central Europe generally, where their only rivals are the Magyar aristocracy. This pride is of no practical importance to-day. But the peasants, too, are particular about class divisions among themselves; and a Polish village reminds one of the Cornish village where there were fourteen social classes outside the workhouse. It is among the *parvenus* that snobbery is still strongest. There was always a large class of retainers in old Poland —stewards, servants and parasites on the border line of the gentry; and among them a spirit of obsequiousness and subservience flourished equal to that of Bumble

himself. A certain Memoir of the eighteenth century records the career of two brothers who were retainers in a noble family. One of them distinguished himself in war, and was rewarded with the "great jewel" of nobility. He married and had offspring, "all noblemen," says the writer, with unctuous repetition. The other brother rejoiced in the advance of the elder branch of the family, but from that day respectfully kept aloof from them, and, "not wishing to increase the number of plebeians, died childless."

The Polish character to-day is undergoing a considerable transformation, owing to the fusion of the former gentry with the peasants. The chivalry and imaginative nature of the one is being modified by the rugged tenacity and sanity of the other. Without any violent revolution, the democratization of Polish society is taking place with great rapidity. The Polish *szlachta* are handing on to the peasants the great traditions they have preserved from their brilliant past. The peasant is assimilating this tradition and has already given many great men, both workers and thinkers, to Poland. The peasants who organized the Popular party in Galicia have had many successors, and one of them is to-day Vice-President of the new National Assembly. Many poets and painters to-day are of peasant stock, but are indistinguishable in manners and character from their fellows of ancient lineage. Old types survive. The incurable romantic type is still common, and the artistic and musical type still flourishes. The writer stayed at a country house in the Ukraine where agriculture was completely neglected, and where there was little contact between the peasants and the gentry, who devoted themselves exclusively to music. There were three pianos and an organ in the house. One daughter played the violin, and a son the 'cello. But such an isolated fragment of a former age is a rarity now. Most

landowners are interested in scientific agriculture, and meet the villagers in Agricultural Circles and Associations of various kinds. The new, earnest type of Pole is best seen in Poznania. The heroic type was revived in the late war in the gallant figure of Pilsudski. But Polish society has become more complex; and new ideas have brought with them a modification of old customs, an abatement of the former exuberance and fantasy, and a tendency to conform more closely to the general European standards of life in each class and occupation. But the old Polish virtues we have discussed remain, and give to the Pole that distinctiveness and charm that delight us; and that courage, tenacity and imagination which have made Poland a great nation, and will make her still greater in the future, now that she is free to realize her own ideals.

CHAPTER IV

THE PAST OF POLAND

THE Polish State disappeared long before our time, so that we are in a state of extreme vagueness or ignorance as to all its former relations with other States and its position in Europe generally. Unlike most of the national States which have been revived in the last century, Poland was long one of the great States of Europe. In numbers, in influence and in culture, Poland is still the greatest force in East Central Europe; and no account of the Polish people can be complete without some account of their past. Having given a short description of the land and the people, we can now proceed to give a brief account of Poland in its past history as an independent State, in order to show what made her so great in the past and what was the cause of her decline.

The formation of the Polish State was in the beginning due to German aggression. As the Germans absorbed the Slav tribes on the Elbe and the Oder, the more easterly tribes drew together for purposes of defence, and began to be known as the Poles, or people of the Plain. So that when we first hear of the Poles—not until the tenth century—they had already formed a union of tribes under a king, with his capital in Poznań. The kingdom was made up of three important regions, each of which in turn became the centre of political life:

1. Great Poland, with its capital Poznań.
2. Lesser Poland, with Cracow as its centre.

3. Mazovia, where in course of time Warsaw became the chief city.

Silesia, too, was at first a part of Poland, and the Pomeranians on the seacoast were generally subject to the Polish king.

Poland had no natural boundaries except the Carpathian mountains on the south. Moreover, she had no traditions of Roman law and organization, or of Byzantine administration; so there were few integrating forces at work to make Poland into a strong State. Even Western feudalism never took deep root here, because the Polish State was not founded on conquest, as were England, France or Spain. No estates were carved out by invading barons. The clan system was very strong and survived to a much later date than in most parts of Europe. This system led to the rise of a numerous class of gentry. As social gulfs deepened, instead of individuals adopting coats of arms, whole clans did so, and formed a class of gentry more numerous than in any other country. In the tenth century the Poles adopted Christianity of the Western type, and became the most zealous adherents of Catholic religion, Roman culture and Roman traditions. This raised a great barrier between Poland and the East Slavs, who had taken their religious ideas from the Eastern Church—a fact which has kept the Poles and Russians apart throughout their history.

The early history of Poland is the record of a continuous struggle against German aggression, of national wars with her neighbours—Bohemia, Hungary and the Russian principalities, and with the less civilized tribes of Pomerania, Prussia and Lithuania. The true founder of the Polish State was the first king, Boleslaw I, who waged a series of successful wars with the Empire, and extended the frontier in the east as far as Kiev. In the twelfth century the kingdom fell into disunion,

THE POLISH STATE—BEFORE THE PARTITIONS

but Western civilization made vast advances. The Cistercian Order appeared in 1130; and monasteries soon spread all over the country, from which Western culture was diffused. A number of chroniclers, such as Martin Gallus, began to record the annals of Poland. In the West, the German Marks, under Albert the Bear and Henry the Lion, rapidly absorbed all the Western Slav tribes, and the Germans began to penetrate into Poland.

In this troubled period three important events occurred:

1. In 1219 the Lithuanian tribes on the Niemen were organized as a State.
2. In 1226 the Teutonic Order settled on the Baltic seaboard, to convert the heathen Prussians and Lithuanians to Christianity.
3. Lastly, in 1241, the Tartars, after conquering the Russian principalities, appeared in the west and devastated Poland.

The chief result of this wholesale depopulation was an enormous influx of Germans. It appeared as if the Poles would disappear between the grinding pressure of the Germans both in the west and in the north, and the sporadic but ruinous raids of the Lithuanians and the Asiatic nomads in the east. The Germans did succeed in absorbing Lower Silesia, but in Poland itself they were gradually assimilated by the Poles. These German peasants introduced higher methods of agriculture, and made definite contracts with the landowners, who allowed them a measure of local autonomy. The Polish peasants profited by the scarcity of labour to imitate them, and a period of prosperity and liberty ensued for the peasants. The Germans also poured into the towns, where they received autonomy under Magdeburg law, which remained in force for centuries. They formed a middle class whose prosperity depended

on the Eastern trade route through Cracow. Many Jews, too, came into Poland, and received the right to manage their own affairs by a Charter of 1264, a right which they have retained ever since. The Germans, in fact, failed to colonize any part of Poland except Lower Silesia; but the Teutonic Order made great advances on the Baltic seaboard, and by 1283 the Prussians were practically exterminated by the Germans, who took their name and formed a State which cut Poland off from the sea.

But the Polish duchies began to realize the evils of disunion, and by 1306 they were all, except Mazovia, united under Wladyslaw the Short; and under his son Casimir the Great, Poland became an important State. This king was a brilliant diplomatist, and by a series of treaties and alliances brought Poland for the first time to a position of equality with other European States, the power being in the hands of the king and the magnates. The Jews were well treated by Casimir, who held the principle of religious toleration, which was always strong in Poland. In 1347 he promulgated the Statute of Wiślica, which was an attempt to collect all the laws of the land and to form a common code for all the provinces of Poland. The land was divided into *Wojewodztwa* or Palatinates, which represented the original tribes. In 1364, Casimir founded a university at Cracow, which had now succeeded Poznań as the capital, and had become an important city, situated as it was on the trade route to the East.

But the great historical events of the reign were the renunciation of all Polish claims to Pomerania and Silesia in 1335, and the annexation of Galicia in 1340. This is one of the turning-points in Polish history. She now definitely retreated before German aggression to an inner line, which the subsequent disorganization of the Empire enabled her to hold till the rise of Prussia

in the eighteenth century ; and she embarked on a policy which diverted Polish expansion to the south-east, brought under her sway the bulk of the Ruthenian or Little Russian people, and opened the way to contact with Moscow, Turkey and the Crimean Tartars. Under Casimir, she took the first step and obtained Lemberg, which the Russians call Lvov and the Poles Lwów (pronounce Lvoof).

Casimir was the last of the original Piast dynasty, and was succeeded in 1370 by Louis of Hungary, who was forced in 1374 to make a compact with the Polish gentry, known as the Privilege or Charter of Koszyce. By this Charter the gentry received certain privileges, such as immunity from taxation, which gave them as a class a strong political position. It is considered by the Poles as their Magna Carta. Louis was succeeded by his daughter Jadwiga, who married Jagiello, Grand Prince of Lithuania. The Lithuanian State had grown enormously in the fourteenth century. The break up of the early Russian principalities, and the anarchy following on the Tartar invasion, had enabled the Lithuanians to conquer almost all the White and Little Russians from Smolensk to Kiev. This great State was now joined to Poland by a dynastic union. The Russian population belonged to the Orthodox Eastern Church, but the Lithuanians were converted to Roman Catholicism by the Poles. In 1413, by the Union of Horodlo, Lithuania was organized on the Polish model, and the gentry received coats of arms and privileges like those of the Poles. This Polish-Lithuanian State was now one of the largest States in Europe. The connexion with Lithuania is perhaps the greatest event in Polish history, as it gradually transformed Poland from a small national State into a large empire. It brought Poland into contact with Moscow, which regarded all the Russian parts of Lithuania as a Russia Irredenta.

And, while Lithuania gave Poland her greatest dynasty and many of her greatest men, it brought into Poland a society inferior in culture to the Poles, unripe for the free Western institutions which had developed in Poland, and which ultimately exercised a baneful influence on Polish political institutions. The Ruthenians were not at that time able to develop any conscious nationality of their own, but they were too tenacious of their customs to be absorbed by the Poles.

The immediate result of the Polish Lithuanian union was the conquest of the Teutonic Order, one of the most powerful military organizations of mediæval Europe. While German in political outlook, and supported at sea by the Hansa League, it was recruited from the chivalry of all Western Europe. The Polish victory of Grunwald, or Tannenberg, in 1410, was one of the few great Slav victories over the Germans. By the Peace of Thorn, in 1466, West Prussia, including Thorn, Dantzig and the Vistula Mouth, became an integral part of Poland, while East Prussia became a Duchy under Polish suzerainty.

We now come to the most important constitutional movement in Polish history, the rise of Parliamentary institutions. Hitherto the kingdom had been ruled by the powerful magnates. But Jagiello's son, Casimir IV, designed with the help of the gentry to break their power. His efforts culminated in the Statute of Nieszawa, by which the king bound himself not to make new laws or summon the army without the consent of the provincial assemblies of the gentry or *Sejmiki*. These *Sejmiki* were free representative institutions which had inherited the ancient independence of the original tribes, and they were, till nearly the end of the Polish State, the bulwarks of Polish liberty. They now began to succeed the Royal Council as the legislative authority in the realm, and to unite for convenience'

STATUE OF COPERNICUS

STATUE OF KING JOHN III (SOBIESKI)

sake in a general parliament or *Sejm*. The *Sejm* rapidly increased its powers; and representatives of the towns began to sit there; but the *Sejmiki* always controlled the central *Sejm*, and this sense of local liberty became important later on. For a time a balance of classes was maintained between the peasants with their local autonomy, the middle class, the gentry, and the king.

The sixteenth century saw the rise of Humanism in Poland. Above all, Copernicus, a student of Cracow University, wrote his great work on astronomy. The reformation began, and many of the Poles were converted to Calvinism. Poland was at this time the only State in Europe where complete toleration was practised, even the Unitarians being tolerated. The second half of the century is the Golden Age of Polish Literature, distinguished for its poets and political writers. Poland completed her territorial unity by the incorporation of Mazovia in 1526, and in 1569 effected the Union of Lublin, by which Poland and Lithuania were finally united. Each State preserved its own laws, and the common Parliament met alternately at Grodno and at Warsaw, which now becomes, by its central position between Poland and Lithuania, more and more the chief city. Unfortunately, the good king, Zygmunt, last of the Jagiello dynasty, died childless in 1572, and the Interregnum that ensued led to great changes in the Polish State.

1. An economic revolution had taken place. The Turks had cut off the trade route to the East, and the prosperity of the cities had declined. The burgher class shrank to small proportions, and ceased to be represented in the *Sejm*. The retail trade fell more and more into the hands of the Jews.

2. The increase of population in Western Europe led to a demand for corn. The Polish gentry began to acquire large estates, and export their corn through

Dantzig. Encroachments were made on peasant liberties till they sank to the position of serfs, like all the peasants of Central and Eastern Europe.

3. The monarchy became elective, and Henry of Valois, who was elected king in 1573, was forced to make a Compact with the gentry, who now overthrew the balance of classes and became the supreme power in the land. The Polish Constitution became republican, and all legislative, executive and judicial functions were performed by the gentry. It must be remembered that, owing to the sudden transition from a clan to a State organization, the Polish gentry formed a very numerous body, including men who in other communities would have been traders and farmers. Among the gentry there was complete equality. There were no titles, and it is very incorrect to call them an aristocracy. Their ideal was that of a Greek city State—a body of citizens, a small trading class, and a mass of labourers. The ideal was a fine one. The importance of the Polish State in European history is that while other great States, after the sixteenth century, tended to aim at order and security, the Poles neglected these for liberty. England alone did the same, but she could afford to do it through her insular position. Moscow, under Tartar rule, had produced an extreme type of despotism with a submissive people. The other States of Europe were tending to evolve a centralized type of government under a strong king, who based his power on the support of a middle class of traders, lawyers and so forth. Thus Poland was alone in her republican ideals, and it remained to be seen whether she could survive. While the gentry were an enlightened group of men, as in the sixteenth century, the Constitution worked well. But the Parliament was at best a clumsy body, as the deputies were not free agents, but were bound by their mandates from the real sovereign bodies, the local Diets or *Sejmiki*.

The representative of a *Sejmik* had the right of vetoing all legislation in the *Sejm*, since he spoke for a whole province or tribe. This institution of the *liberum veto* was not used at first, but grew into a dangerous weapon later on. Another dangerous institution was the Confederation, by which a faction could form a league and wage war on the rest of the State. Both these institutions were later praised by Rousseau as great constitutional weapons against despotism; and in fact he found in Poland the nearest approach in reality to his ideal of a republican State based on a social contract, the Pacta Conventa of Polish law.

The period from 1560 to 1696 is the period of the great wars. Through most of these years the Polish army conducted a series of brilliant campaigns against Sweden, Moscow, Turkey and the Tartars, and was generally victorious. Poland was the great power of East Central Europe, and the Polish *Sejm* dictated to the East as despotically as the Roman Senate itself. The most brilliant episodes of the age were the conquest of Livonia from the Swedes, the capture of Moscow, and the victories of Chodkiewicz and Sobieski over the Turks. The most serious war was the invasion of Poland in 1655 by the Swedes, the Germans, the Muscovites and the Tartars, following on the Cossack revolts.

But, internally, this is a period of decline. The counter-reformation brought the Jesuits into Poland. They obtained complete control over education, which declined rapidly. With the decline of enlightenment went also the capacity of the gentry to manage their free Constitution, which depended wholly on the intelligence and patriotism of the individual. An attempt was made to win over the Ruthenians to the Western Church. A compromise was found in the Uniat Church, which was joined by the bulk of the Ruthenians. But in the Ukraine the Orthodox religion retained its hold

on the peasants, and the Cossacks represented the latent Ruthenian nationality. Religious persecution began for the first time in Poland, and a great Cossack rebellion led to a *Jacquerie* all over the Ukraine. Poland was still strong enough to survive the Deluge of 1655–60, but internal decline had set in. The great wars left Poland completely exhausted. Internal politics degenerated into family feuds and faction fights. The Saxon kings had not the will or the energy to amend matters. The Kingdom of Prussia, formed by the union of Brandenburg with East Prussia, had evolved a strong bureaucratic government, and, like Austria, possessed a hereditary diplomat and a large standing army. Peter the Great transformed Moscow into Russia, and imitated the political system of the other bureaucratic States. Poland was the sole survivor, in Central Europe, of a group of national States, and her fall drew near. Prussia wished to resume the German *Drang nach Osten*, and Russia cast longing eyes on the rich Little Russian lands of the Ukraine.

On the death of August III. in 1763, Frederick the Great of Prussia proposed to Catherine of Russia that a young Pole, Poniatowski, would be a suitable candidate for the Polish throne. He was elected, in the presence of a Russian army, and all his life this last *Roi fainéant* was subservient to Russia. Prussia and Russia now sought an excuse for interference in Polish affairs, and they found it in the "Dissidents," or members of the Orthodox and Protestant creeds, whom they alleged were persecuted. The whole affair was conducted in the most cynical way, since these Dissidents had complete toleration at a time when over most of Europe religious minorities were being persecuted. A patriotic resistance grew up in Poland, and during the period of anarchy that followed, Frederick proposed a partition. This took place in 1773, when Austria obtained Galicia,

Prussia the Lower Vistula region, and Russia part of White Russia. The blame for this disreputable transaction falls chiefly on Prussia, which, with the slightest claims, forced it on the others. A new Constitution was imposed on Poland, but, as it gave the control of the government to the Russian ambassador, it was repugnant to the Poles.

We now come to the most important period in Polish history, the renascence of the Polish nation. It is generally forgotten that, before her fall, Poland completely reformed her Constitution. At one stroke the Poles brought their State up to the level of Western Europe. The work was done by a small band of men; and seldom have great ideas so rapidly permeated a community. At first there was a tendency to ask advice from distinguished foreign reformers, the greatest of these being Rousseau. But their advice was not of great value, as the conditions of Poland were not well known abroad, and differed so widely from the condition of France under the Bourbons. The great movement in France was for more liberty against a rigid system of order. The Poles had too much liberty, and were seeking order and security. Rousseau saw in Poland a somewhat exaggerated example of his ideal State, and his advice tended to strengthen the Conservative Republicans, who made a fetish of their "golden liberty."

As Poland had fallen from her high estate through a decline in enlightenment, the first great reformer, Stanislaw Konarski, naturally devoted his life to educational reform. He found the whole country dominated by the Jesuit schools, which taught nothing but barbarous Latin and arid theology. He introduced into the schools the Polish language, the study of Polish literature, history, geography, modern languages, science and, above all, ideals of morality and citizenship, which had long been neglected in Poland. He formed model schools in which

his ideas were incorporated. Konarski's work was the foundation stone on which the revival of Poland was based. His schools educated the band of men who changed the whole social and political structure of Poland, and he was a true Præceptor Poloniæ.

In 1773 the reformers founded the Educational Commission, practically the first Ministry of Education in Europe. This Commission developed the work of Konarski, and formed a whole network of schools over the country. It found its most brilliant agents in a priest, Kollontaj, who modernized Cracow University. The Lithuanian university of Vilna was also brought up to date, and a great renascence of literature, art and science began.

This educational reform was followed at once by a strong movement towards political reform. The chief ideas of reform were expounded by Staszyc, a member of the small middle class. These ideas were taken up by Kollontaj, Ignacy Potocki and others, and culminated in the great four years' Parliament and the 3rd of May Constitution of 1791. This great Parliament is unique in history, for, at a time when the French Noblesse were being forced to give up their rights, the Polish gentry voluntarily renounced their privileges. It is often forgotten that there were two revolutions at this time besides the French Revolution—those in Belgium and Poland. The Polish reformers embodied their ideas in a Constitution. The following reforms were passed:

1. The Government was divided into an Executive, a Legislature and a Judiciary. A strong executive was formed by making the monarchy hereditary and increasing its powers. The King and the Council of Ministers were to form a permanent Executive body responsible to the *Sejm*.
2. The *Sejmiki* lost their power, and the *Sejm* became

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a real independent legislative body. The *liberum veto* and the Confederation were both abolished. Thus the idea of the State finally triumphed over provincial separatism.

3. The gentry gave up their immunity from taxation, the middle class was enfranchised, and municipal autonomy was restored.
4. The Army was increased to 100,000, and heavy taxes were imposed on the gentry.
5. Complete toleration for all religions was confirmed.
6. The peasants were taken under the protection of the law, and might make agreements with their masters to pay rent instead of continuing the old system of forced labour.

This Constitution was greeted with a chorus of praise all over Europe, its greatest admirers being the Emperor Leopold II. and our own Burke, who contrasted its moderation with the excesses of the French revolutionary leaders. In order to preserve it Poland made a defensive alliance with Prussia. But a small band of Polish reactionaries went to Russia for help, and formed a Confederation among the Conservative magnates of the Ukraine. A large Russian army, fresh from the wars with Turkey, attacked Poland. The small Polish army held them up, under Prince Joseph Poniatowski and Kościuszko, and appealed to Prussia for help. The King of Prussia treacherously abandoned his ally, and supported Russia. The pusillanimous king of Poland also deserted his people; and the Polish leaders had to cross the frontier. A second Partition was arranged between Russia and Prussia. The Poles then organized a great rising under Kościuszko, whom they made Dictator. He completed the work of the reformers by emancipating all the Polish peasants. He advanced, beat the Russian army, and occupied Warsaw. After a long siege by the Russian and Prussian armies,

Kościuszko forced them to withdraw; but the advance of large Russian forces from the east compelled him to divide his army, and he was defeated and wounded at Maciejowice. The fall of Warsaw followed, and the rest of Poland was divided by the three Powers, Warsaw falling to Prussia. The fall of Poland was due to the complete overthrow of the balance of power in Europe owing to the French Revolution. The great Coalition was absorbed in the war against France, so that Russia and Prussia were free to abandon Austria and Great Britain in order to divide Poland, thus making possible the French victories of 1794.

We may conclude this sketch of Polish history by quoting a conversation between the Russian Emperor Paul I., and the Polish leader Kościuszko, when the latter was released from his prison in St Petersburg.

PAUL. Forget your native land. It has met the same fate as other nations, of which only the name remains in history. Here your excellency will always be gloriously remembered.

KOŚC. Would that I were forgotten and my country were free! It is true, many States have perished, but there has been nothing like the fall of Poland.

PAUL. Why, General? Did not the Greek and Roman Empires suffer dismemberment?

KOŚC. True, your Majesty, but they lost their sense of freedom before they lost their existence. Whereas Poland fell when she was at the height of her strength, and when she was trying to maintain freedom and order —when she was displaying the greatest energy and patriotism.

CHAPTER V

DIVIDED POLAND

WITH the fall of the Polish State in 1795, Poland ceases to play a part in European history as an independent nation. The Poles are divided among three great Powers, and, to some extent, their history becomes part of the general history of Russia, Prussia and Austria. The Polish State had disappeared, and it is possible that some of its enemies really believed that they had heard the last of the Polish people. They were to be greatly undeceived. Superficial historians were apt to consider the history of the Poles closed with the fall of Poland, to quote Kościuszko as saying Finis Poloniæ, to ask us to "grieve when even the shade of that which once was great has passed away." The Polish nation was a most substantial shade. It is the classic instance of how a nation may exist without a State through which to express itself. If we must inevitably treat the internal history of Poland in three separate divisions, it is also essential to discuss the history of the Poles in broad outline as one whole, and to see what they aimed at, and the spirit in which they attempted to carry out their ideals. The Poles had two main ideas throughout the nineteenth century. Firstly, they wished to recover their independence, or to gain some form of autonomy as near it as possible. Failing this, they wished at least to defend their nationality from all attempts to destroy it on the part of the partitioning Powers. Secondly, they desired to maintain

the spiritual unity of the Polish people, to uphold the past ideals of Poland, to carry on the social and cultural evolution of the people, and to hand on Polish traditions, unbroken, to a younger and more happily circumstanced generation. This they were able to do, partly through the astonishing tenacity of their race, but also for two main reasons. The first was that the great renascence of the eighteenth century had given such a stimulus to Polish civilization in every department of Polish life, that a completely new generation of Poles had grown up during the Partition period—idealists, soldiers, politicians and scientists, who were well-educated, conscious of their nationality, stubborn and resolute in their adherence to the best elements in their national traditions. This movement gathered force after the fall of Poland, and formed a solid material and spiritual basis for the national movement during the bitter struggle of the next century, which in any country might have demoralized the most ardent patriot, daunted the most resolute warrior.

The second cause which gave Poland some hope for the future was the rise of the spirit of nationality in Europe. This early emergence of national feeling was due, partly to the French Revolution and partly to the Polish Partition itself. Immediately after the fall of Poland the armies of revolutionary France began to overspread Europe, bringing new ideas of liberalism and hopes of freedom for nationalities long submerged. This movement had its influence even in Russia, which saw with wonder a liberal Tsar on the throne of the Moscow autocrats. In the Europe of Napoleon and Alexander I. the Polish leaders saw a spark of hope rapidly kindled into flame. Napoleon took the first step, and formed, out of the Prussian parts of Poland, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, with the cities of Warsaw, Poznań and Cracow. But Napoleon never realized the

significance of nationality. His disregard of it, in fact, was one of the chief causes of his fall. He looked on Poland as a mere pawn in the political game, and made use of the Poles as excellent military material. His refusal to reunite Lithuania to Warsaw was a bitter disillusionment to the Poles, who had fought for him in Italy, in Spain and in Germany. In his rival Alexander the Poles found a more sympathetic patron. Liberalism had been more firmly implanted in him by his tutor Laharpe, and he was fully conscious of the demands of oppressed nationalities owing to his friendship with the Pole, Czartoryski, and the Greek, Capo d'Istrias. He dreamed of a restoration of Poland and Lithuania, and, had it not been for the rise of Russian nationalism and the opposition of the Russian bureaucracy deeply steeped in the tradition of Catherine II., he would undoubtedly have realized his ideal. He had a great admiration for Kościuszko, then living in retirement, and asked his advice on many Polish questions. But this sturdy republican would have nothing to do with emperors, and merely sent advice from his Swiss home. The Congress of Vienna was dominated by the sinister figure of Metternich. Reaction triumphed, and all Alexander could do was to form a small, stunted Kingdom of Poland, without Poznania, bound by a dynastic union with Russia. He also preserved the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as a semi-autonomous State. These two States, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Poland, at any rate gave Poland a new lease of life. In them, and in Lithuania, the Poles were able to develop their ideas and their culture from 1807 to 1830. Alexander did at least acknowledge the injustice of the Partitions, and strove to revive a Polish State, but he did not succeed in founding a permanent Russo-Polish friendship. He was alone in his Polonophilism, and at his death his work at once collapsed.

What was the cause of this chasm between Russia and Poland? There were three important reasons for it.

There was a profound difference between the culture and traditions of Russia and Poland, a difference which had its roots far back in the past. Russia belonged to the Orthodox Greek Church, and had assimilated, under the Muscovite Tsars, the autocratic Byzantine ideas. Poland was Roman Catholic, with a Western parliamentary tradition, and was regarded by Russia as an excrescence of Western or Latin Europe in the Slav world, which, according to the rising school of the Slavophils, should be uniformly Orthodox. Poland was a tiny liberal State situated in the heart of reactionary Europe and unequally yoked, by a dynastic union, with an unbeliever in liberalism. She represented all that was hateful to the Russian mind — the Latin heresy in religion and constitutionalism in politics. To the bureaucrats and courtiers who had grown wealthy on the spoils of Poland in the age of Catherine, any revival of a Polish State was a mortal blow to vested interests. To the rising Russian nationalism of Karamzin, and even to the once liberal Novosiltsev, Polish nationalism was a deadly rival. In every way the long secular rivalry between Russia and Poland was fundamental, and there could be no compromise. Russia, since Peter the Great, had attained a military and political supremacy in the great European plain, and she meant to keep it.

Secondly, there was the question of the Ukraine, which is treated in a separate chapter. Russia had partially succeeded in reuniting the West Russians to Moscow, and her aim was to crush the remnants of Polish influence in this region, especially in Lithuania, where Polish was still the dominant language. This was the rock on which all attempts at a Russo-Polish compromise came to grief in the nineteenth century; and it remained the fundamental factor in Russo-Polish relations till the

rise of the Ukrainist national movement, which complicated the issue and drew Russia and Poland nearer together.

The third reason for Russo-Polish enmity has been the German influence in Russia. This German influence dates from the conquest of the Baltic Provinces by Russia from Sweden. These provinces have always had a large German population, which has, since the early eighteenth century, played a large part in Russian politics. The policy of "Westernizing" Russia, inaugurated by Peter, was largely carried on by these Germans, who from the first began to occupy the best posts in the civil, military and diplomatic services. Under Catherine, their importance was greatly enhanced by the increased power of the Russian gentry, and by the opportunities for distinction offered by the great wars and the higher position Russia began to hold as a great Power. A strong German element now consolidated itself in the Russian public service, against which native Russians have often struggled in vain. It was Germans like Pahlen and Bennigsen who assassinated Paul I., who took a large share in the war against Napoleon, and who threatened Alexander when he attempted to carry out his liberal and national projects. In fact, Russia and Prussia have never seriously fought each other from the Seven Years' War down to the War of 1914, and most of the time there has been an almost permanent *entente* between the two Powers. The friendship dates from the Partitions of Poland, which gave the two States a common vested interest. It developed during the Coalitions against Napoleon, and reached its highest point in the Holy Alliance. It lasted under Nicholas I., and even survived the Franco-Prussian War. It added to the Russian idea of autocracy the German bureaucratic methods of administration. Even when liberal emperors, like Alexander I. or Alexander II.,

tried to satisfy Polish demands, even when German democrats took up the Polish cause, they were invariably checkmated by the German bureaucracies of Prussia and Russia, representing, in fact, the true interests of German nationalism. But, whereas this policy was natural to Prussia, for Russia it was nothing but a barren, artificial policy inspired by Germany, by which no true Slav should ever have been deluded. Repression of the Polish nationality was, it is true, supported by Russian public opinion in the nineteenth century, because of its fear of Polish influence in the border provinces. But when the Polish claims to the Ukraine weakened, there was no longer a reason why Russian nationalists should support this anti-Polish trend of thought, which was purely German in origin and inspiration. Yet this feeling dominated Russian public opinion. Russia emancipated the Orthodox Bulgars from the Turkish yoke, and even befriended the Catholic Czechs, but she remained stubbornly hostile to the Poles. So that, since the days of Napoleon, European history, for the Poles, has been divided into two periods—the age of Metternich and the age of Bismarck. Russian ministers, from Nesselrode to Gorchakov and Goremykin, have followed these German statesmen in their Polish policy.

The greatest foe to Poland after 1815 was naturally the Austrian Government, the enemy of all liberalism and national feeling. Metternich inspired the Holy Alliance and directed its anti-Polish policy. But the foreign policy of Austria, in view of the dangerous power of her neighbours Russia and Prussia, was liable to moods of friendship for the Poles; and Austria was destined to become a constitutional State in which Polish statesmen were to possess great influence. The real representative of German nationalism was Prussia, and, by her rise to the position of the leading German State,

she succeeded in imposing on Germany her own attitude to the Polish question. For Prussia alone of the three Powers the Polish question was a matter of fundamental importance. The very existence of the Prussian State depended on the weakness of Poland, since West Prussia, a part of Poland, was the link between Brandenburg and East Prussia. Moreover, Prussia regarded the Polish district of Poznania as an admirable field for colonization, and in this view she was justified by events. The German infiltration of Poznania commenced before the fall of Poland, and, by 1815, the German element amounted to about 20 per cent. of the population. By 1867 it had risen to 47 per cent.—that is to say, German colonization had been so successful that Poznania was rapidly becoming a German province in fact as well as in name. Prussia, then, was the main foe of the Polish people. After 1815 she was closely allied with Austria and Russia, in the latter of whom she had a partner both ready to assist German interests in East Central Europe, and with important reasons of her own for repressing all expressions of the Polish national spirit. How was it possible for the Poles, with all their national vitality, to resist this powerful and sinister combination? Would Western Europe help her? The Powers had given guarantees of a wide nature at the Congress of Vienna. The Poles appealed to these guarantees both in 1830 and in 1863. The answer was decisively in the negative. Palmerston put it concisely: "Vous avons le droit d'intervenir, mais nous n'avons pas l'obligation." The Poles were left to their own resources in their desperate fight.

After 1815 there were five divisions of Poland: Prussian Poland, Galicia under Austria, Lithuania and the Ukraine under Russia were all definitely annexed. But the "Kingdom" of Poland was independent, with Alexander I. as king; and a spark of Polish

liberty survived in the small republic of Cracow. Of these provinces Galicia gave no help to the national cause. It had been torn from Poland in 1773, before the great renascence, was economically and socially backward, and quite deficient in national consciousness. All the administrative and judicial institutions were Germanized; and the "Estates," called together in accordance with the resolution of the Congress of Vienna, were but the mere shadow of a Parliament. Galicia was systematically exploited by Austria, and made little resistance. It was not till the advent of a number of exiles in 1846, that any sign of resistance to the bureaucracy appeared. A rebellion was planned, chiefly at Cracow, in 1846. It failed, and led to bloody reprisals, after which Cracow was annexed to Austria. Prussian Poland was also, according to the decrees of the Congress of Vienna, to have had autonomy. Some concessions were made to Poznania, which received a Polish viceroy, Prince Radziwill; and one great measure, the emancipation of the peasants, was passed in 1823. But these concessions soon ceased, and a period of German aggression began. German colonization was encouraged, and proceeded apace under the rule of Flotwell after 1830; and, during the next ten years, the Poles were gradually driven out of all administrative posts, and the German language introduced into the schools. A more liberal period began in 1840; and the German revolution of 1848 was in complete sympathy with Polish ideals of liberty. But in 1850 reaction again reigned supreme. Poznania was definitely incorporated into Prussia, and the Polish language practically disappeared from public life.

The chief centres of Polish national life were in Russia, both in Lithuania and in the Kingdom of Poland. Under Alexander I. a complete revival of Polish life in Lithuania had taken place. Prince Adam Czartoryski

had been made Curator of the Educational system in that province; and a network of schools had covered the country, with its centre in the Polish university of Vilna and the lyceum of Krzemeniec. This region had already produced the gallant leader Kościusko, and it now produced many leaders in science, art and public life, greatest among whom was the poet Mickiewicz. The Kingdom of Poland was not behind Lithuania as a centre of Polish life and learning. It had inherited from the Grand Duchy of Warsaw a legal system, the Code Napoléon, an efficient army—mostly consisting of veterans who had fought for Napoleon — and an educational system. Alexander had granted a Constitution, which was the most liberal in Europe, and had even held out hopes of a reunion with Lithuania. His brother Constantine had renounced his right of succession to the Russian throne to marry a Polish lady, and was commander of the Polish army, in which he took the greatest pride. Above all, the beginnings were laid of a great industrial development, chiefly owing to the energy of Staszyc, the great reformer (see Chapter IV.), and of Prince Lubecki, a Lithuanian Pole and a close friend of Alexander's. The latter effected a complete revolution in the Kingdom. He displayed great talents for finance, and on becoming Minister of Finance, he investigated the various claims of the Powers submitted to the Congress of Vienna, and manipulated them with such skill that Poland emerged the gainer by the transaction. He set Polish finance on a sound basis and established credit, especially by the foundation of the Bank of Poland in 1828. He encouraged Polish commerce and carried on a tariff war with Prussia about the Vistula trade route. Finally he encouraged foreign artisans to settle in Poland. Lodz and other villages became industrial centres, and Żyrardów arose to perpetuate the name of its founder, Girard. If we

add to this a picture of the brilliant life of the capital Warsaw—where Mickiewicz began to write his romantic poems, Chopin played his great piano works, Lelewel began his historical researches, Niemcewicz wrote, talked and organized literary societies—we get some conception of the great national movement which was guiding Poland towards a great artistic, political and economic development.

Unhappily the relations of Alexander with his Kingdom grew less friendly. Causes for quarrel soon arose, and one encroachment after another was made on the Constitution. After the death of Alexander, under the more autocratic Nicholas I., matters soon came to a head. A plot was hatched by some young officers. An insurrection broke out, and a national Government was formed, under the lead of Czartoryski, which formally deposed the King. Nicholas declared war on his subjects; and for the last time Poland fought an heroic struggle against Russia. At first, the Polish army held its own, but unfortunately dissensions arose between the Moderates and Democrats in Warsaw itself. The former were overthrown by the Reds, as the Democratic party called themselves. In the chaos which ensued, the Russian army, with the help of Prussia, crossed the Vistula and captured Warsaw from the western side. The Polish army retreated to the south-west, and with it went a melancholy procession of all the leading Poles, destined to perpetual exile. They passed through Leipzig, when the young Wagner saw them and was inspired to write his "Polonia"; they passed through Germany and settled in Western Europe, chiefly in Paris. After 1830, the élite of the Polish nation lived in exile and called itself the "Emigration." The exiles were divided into two parties: the Democrats under the historian Lelewel, who lived at Brussels, and the Moderates under Prince Adam Czartoryski, who bought

the Hotel Lambert, which became an informal ministry for Polish affairs in Western Europe.

This Polish "Emigration" became a body of general European importance, as it played a great part in the struggle for national liberties which was the chief feature of the period. Polish veterans of 1830 led the Hungarian revolutionary armies in 1848, they played a great part in the German revolution; a Pole led the ill-fated army of Carlo Alberto at Novara. The Poles in exile became the centre of European resistance to the reactionary principles of the Holy Alliance. They failed themselves, but they helped others to succeed in Hungary, Italy and France itself. The influence of literature on these exiles was enormous. The theme of revenge, the Messianic idea of a special mission for Poland, Slowacki's idea of a "King Spirit," the undying soul of the nation which became reincarnated in successive national heroes —all these poetic fantasies found believers among the unpractical dreamers of the "Emigration." Exhorted by their poets—"Match not thine aims to thy resources, but measure thy strength by thine intentions"—they developed a heedlessness of results and an inability to reckon with facts that led them to disaster.

In Poland, under the harsh rule of Paskevich, the Moderate elements grouped themselves in two camps, a smaller one under Alexander Wielopolski, a man of proud aristocratic character and inscrutable exterior, but of very great intellectual power and statesmanlike ability. He was aware of the futility of armed struggle, and developed a policy of non-resistance and co-operation with Russia, in order to obtain political concessions. The larger party consisted of those of the Polish gentry who refused to renounce their national aspirations. They grouped themselves round the agricultural reformer, Andrew Zamoyski, who was as popular as his rival Wielopolski was hated. "Organic Work" was the

keynote of Zamoyski's policy; and he attempted experiments which went far towards solving the peasant question, on a basis of substituting rent for forced labour. The death of Nicholas I. in 1855, and of Paskevich in the next year, ended twenty-five years of despotic rule, and the hopes of the Poles rose high. Alexander II. visited Warsaw, and charmed all by his liberalism and urbanity; but the keynote of his policy for the Poles was *Point de rêveries*. The mild rule of M. D. Gorchakov followed. An amnesty was granted to the prisoners and exiles, and permission was given to found an Agricultural Society. The hopes of the gentry rested in the latter institution, which became a sort of Parliament. But the influx of the exiles, bitter prisoners from Siberia and romantic dreamers from the "Emigration" led to the formation of extreme "Red" parties, who gained great strength in Poland, and were encouraged by Russian revolutionaries like Herzen and Bakunin. All Poland was simmering with hope and unrest. Alexander, realizing the necessity for action, called Wielopolski to him and gave him a free hand to introduce his new schemes. Wielopolski thereupon introduced a number of moderate reforms, which gave the Kingdom a wide educational system with a University in Warsaw, progressive judicial reforms, a moderate agrarian reform, leading to the abolition of serfdom, religious freedom, and some measure of self-government. But a storm of opposition broke out against the hated Minister. His close connection with the Russian Court, and his refusal to extend his schemes to Lithuania, roused the whole country against him. The Reds obtained hold over Warsaw; and in 1863 an insurrection broke out, underground but strong and persistent, which lasted for over a year. Only gradually were the Polish guerilla bands rounded up by the Russian army. They were ably directed by a secret National Council in Warsaw, and

buoyed up by hopes of foreign intervention. Austria, France and Great Britain did in fact send joint notes to the Russian Government, but their requests were rejected with scorn, and the wave of Liberalism that had swept over Russia turned into chauvinistic nationalism, and from 1863 dates the violent hatred of Russia for her subject nationalities. The Insurrection was crushed by the spring of 1864, and an orgy of executions and confiscations ensued. Moreover, Prussia alone had supported the Russian Government against the Poles, at a time when Russia was isolated in Europe. Out of gratitude for this assistance Russia remained neutral during the Prussian campaigns of 1864, 1866 and 1870, and enabled Prussia to unite Germany and become the greatest military power in Europe. So the Holy Alliance of Russia and Prussia, based on a common attitude to the Poles, was revived and strengthened. Every remnant of Polish autonomy was now abolished, especially during the Governor-Generalship of Gurko. Still more merciless was the repression of Polish nationality in Lithuania, under the brutal rule of the infamous Muravev, and from this time Lithuania has almost ceased to be a Polish country. The suppression of the Uniat Church in 1874 was particularly atrocious, and has been stigmatized as the greatest scandal of the nineteenth century.

Poland, as a separate unit, had now disappeared in Russia, and her subsequent history is closely associated with that of the Russian Empire. A national revival took place in 1905 after the Japanese War; many new institutions were formed, but soon abolished; and a few years of hope were followed by another age of despair, under the anti-Polish policy of Stolypin and the Third Duma. But the same period saw the rise of a new system of autonomy in Austria. The disaster of the Prussian War of 1866 forced Austria to transform her Constitution; and Galicia received complete autonomy

under a Polish viceroy. A Polish Diet began to sit at Lemberg, the administrative capital; and the universities of Lemberg and Cracow revived, and became centres of Polish learning. But Galicia remained backward. Her finances and industry were weak, and her political organization showed the class antipathies of an earlier age. Galicia remained closely associated with Austrian politics — the least national part of Poland: in fact, there was a great danger of the widening of the gulf between the Galician Poles and their compatriots over the frontier, and the evolution of a separate nationality there. The chief features of this period are the evolution of the Polish peasants leading to the democratization of Polish society, the big industrial advance of Russian Poland, the transformation of the energies of the mass of the Poles from politics and literature to social work, and a general demoralization of Polish manners through the absence of any national incentive to effort. The gloomy theories of the Cracow historians and the renunciation of national effort by the Positivists of Warsaw prevailed, while Prussian Poland was absorbed in a life and death struggle against German colonization. Only in the 'eighties came a change, which led to a great revival, both in thought and in politics, and a movement towards a reunion of the scattered forces of Poland in a common national policy. Poland had disappeared from the European community of nations, but in the Vistula Provinces, in Galicia, and in Prussia, there remained latent forces that were destined soon to reorganize themselves and testify before Europe to the eternal vitality of the Polish race.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL PARTIES

IN spite of the long parliamentary history of Poland there was never any definite division of members of the Polish Diet into permanent parties as in England. The unique Constitution of Poland with its *liberum veto* and mandatory system of legislation, the disfranchisement of the middle class, and the absence of lawyers, prevented the rise of class interests in politics, while the intense individualism of the Polish character militated against any permanent grouping of deputies in the Polish *Sejm*. Only in the latter days of the Four Years' Parliament did any definite grouping take place, when the Republican Conservatives struggled against the reforming tendencies of the moderate Patriotic party on the one hand, and against the destructive violence of the Jacobin extremists on the other. With the fall of the Polish State, Polish political interests became associated with the separate internal politics of the partitioning Powers. The rise of fresh problems, both of a national and of a social nature, led to further subdivisions among the scattered Polish groups; and Poland became notorious as a country of infinite political divisions and warring factions. There were divisions on national questions, on social questions, as well as the divisions caused by the natural attractions of the new political centres of Berlin, Vienna and Petrograd. All these factors split up the Poles into a number of sections, confused and mutually antagonistic. Yet in this super-

ficially inextricable tangle of interests, certain main lines of policy appear, common to all parts of Poland, and from time to time actually uniting and presenting a strong front to the attacks of the common foes. Throughout this period of confusion and uncertainty, individual Poles continue to rise to high places in which they can display their talents; Polish groups manage to maintain the great traditions of Polish Parliamentarism; and every now and then, several currents meet and reveal, quite unexpectedly, a national unity and tenacity that surprise and alarm their German and Russian oppressors. During a period of oppression that might have shattered the national unity, daunted the stubborn resistance, and demoralized the social life of many a people, the Polish spirit continued to reveal itself, now in an individual, now in a group, and now in a national movement. We find a Polish statesman, Adam Czartoryski, acting as Foreign Minister to Russia, present at the Congress of Vienna and treating, as the informal representative of Poland, with Palmerston and Louis Napoleon. We find Polish statesmen making their way up to be Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of constitutional Austria. Poland indeed supplied almost all the Finance Ministers of the Hapsburg monarchy. We find Poles leading revolutions in Prussia, Baden, Italy and Hungary. We find Polish peasants organizing themselves, and successfully resisting the Prussian colonization of Poznania. We find a firm Polish control maintained over all emigrants to America, thus enabling them to preserve their nationality and unity in the maelstrom of peoples in the United States. We see also that any revolt in one part of Poland evokes an immediate response in all other parts, and finally that one party can find adherents in all regions of the divided Polish land.

It is possible then not only to treat each part of Poland

as a unit with its own special political development—to trace the rise of Polish parties in the Reichsrath, the Reichstag and the Duma—but also to trace main lines of political evolution in Poland as a whole. The main question to be answered is: What attitude did the leaders of Poland in the nineteenth century take towards the disappointments and difficulties they met with in their attempt to preserve the unity of Poland and to regain national freedom? Clearly, the main object of all the Poles has been to regain complete independence and national unity. But circumstances have forced them, at many periods, to modify their claims, and even to make some kind of compromise; to seek support, for instance, in Austria against Russia, in Russia against Prussia. Circumstances have enabled them to bring about a revival of national feeling all over Poland and to organize general insurrections, or to create sectional movements which have forced one of the Powers to bargain with them. Generally speaking, the whole epoch of modern political life in Poland may be divided into three main periods: the Romantic period, an age of hope, idealism, political adventure and armed insurrection—lasting from the Partitions of Poland to the year 1863; secondly, the age of Realism, a time of oppression and despair, resulting from the failure of the Insurrection of 1863, and lasting till nearly the end of the nineteenth century; lastly, the revival of national feeling, beginning in the 'seventies of last century and slowly expanding and increasing in intensity till it attained the proportions of the widespread national movement that we are witnessing to-day.

Almost all Polish party divisions spring from the two main currents of political thought which naturally permeate the life of every nation that is oppressed, and which represent the ideal and the real elements in all human life. In the first period, an ideal or optimistic

outlook was the prevalent attitude of Polish leaders to their surroundings. It was an age of Romanticism, not only in art and literature, but in politics, in life itself; and it found a basis in the measure of freedom gained in the ephemeral Polish States, which rose during the revolutionary period of 1795-1815, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, the Kingdom of Poland, and the Republic of Cracow. Besides the romantic feelings that inspired the poetry of Mickiewicz and the music of Chopin, the Poles believed in the imminent overthrow of all the political restrictions on their freedom and national development. They trusted Napoleon, they trusted Alexander I. They believed in Justice, in Democracy, in the strength of armed Revolution; they believed in the greatness of their past and in the speedy restoration of their independence. They believed in France and England, they invoked the aid of Palmerston and Napoleon III. They organized national movements, as in 1812; they formed legions to fight for France, for Turkey, for revolutions in general. They revolted in 1830, in 1846, 1848 and 1863. There were two main parties during this period, the Moderates, or Whites, who were ready to make some sort of compromise with such liberal rulers as Alexander I., or Alexander II., and were composed of the more aristocratic element in Poland under such men as Adam Czartoryski; and the Extremists, or Reds, the democratic part of Polish society. The leader of the latter was the historian Lelewel, who formulated the political philosophy of democratic Poland, and was the embodiment of the Romantic spirit of the age. His history describes in glowing terms the glorious democratic past of Poland, and attributes her fall purely to the machinations of her enemies. The Slav, according to him, is the real democrat, and is destined to mould the future of Europe on progressive lines. This spirit pervaded Polish literature, and, as disillusionment

followed the Revolution of 1830, gave rise to the curious Messianic idea that Poland had been crucified to save the nations, and, like Christ, would arise from the dead to bring about the millennium. The Romantic politicians were blind to realities. They saw Poland still as a great Empire " from sea to sea," *i.e.* from the Black Sea to the Baltic, only temporarily submerged. They would have no compromise. No mere fragment of their former state would satisfy them. They claimed an independent Poland within the boundaries existing before 1773.

Against the Romantic movement a small minority of political thinkers strove in vain, for different reasons. Some were mere traitors, some were men who kept their oath to their new rulers from a sense of loyalty, like the generals who remained faithful to Nicholas I. in 1830; some were far-seeing statesmen like Prince Lubecki, who did so much for Polish industry and finance. These men believed in compromise, and were to some extent justified by the failure of armed revolution. The bulk of them were mere time-servers, or landowners who wished to preserve their estates from confiscation. They gained their first accession of strength after the failure of the insurrections of 1830 and 1848. The majority of the Polish leaders were abroad in exile, and the Poles who remained in the country were forced into some recognition of Russian and Austrian rule. Those under Prussia were happier in view of the liberal movement in Germany; and for a time, Poznania became a centre of Polish thought. The death of Nicholas I. and the advent of a liberal Emperor to the Russian throne expanded these ideas of conciliation into a political philosophy. The man who formulated the idea of conciliation was the Marquis Wielopolski, a rich magnate, aloof in disposition, unpopular, and out of touch with Polish life. He was full of patriotism and reforming zeal, and desired to effect some betterment in the position

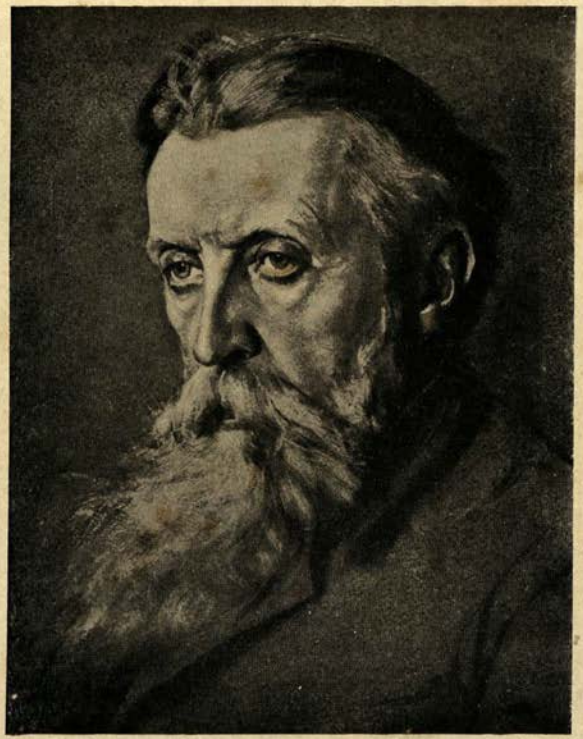
of Poland. But he refused to extend his plans beyond the Kingdom of Poland, that is to say, he not only abandoned the idea of the Union (with Lithuania), but refused to make the Polish question more than an internal question for Russia. He was selected by Alexander to realize his liberal schemes in Poland. But by this time the exiles had returned, and both the Whites under Andrew Zamoyski and the Reds presented a hostile front to the sound, but very limited, reforms proposed by the Tsar and Wielopolski. The plan of reform failed to satisfy the Poles, and the Insurrection of 1863 ensued.

The Insurrection of 1863 was an epoch in Polish political ideas. It was the death-knell of Romanticism. The revolutionaries had believed in armed force, the intervention of France and England, and the triumph of abstract justice. All had failed them. Consequently a complete change took place in the attitude of the Poles towards their rulers, and the process was quickened by another event—the transformation of Austria-Hungary into a constitutional State. The conciliatory views of Wielopolski now found a ready acceptance in Galicia, which received complete autonomy under Austria. Austria was a Catholic power, so that the Galician Poles found both a throne and a church on which to base their new ideas. They formed a Conservative party with a new outlook on Polish politics. The Poles, they held, could not obtain concessions by revolting against their rulers, but only by loyalty to them. They cited the case of Finland, and pointed to the temporary success of Wielopolski in Russian Poland. As for Polish unity, it was no longer a matter of practical politics. The Poles must now cherish a triple loyalty to the three dynasties that ruled them. This policy was taken up by the new scientific historians of the "Cracow School," who developed the idea in their

attitude towards Polish history, They showed that Poland had always suffered from anarchy, owing to the lack of a strong executive body; and that she needed a long course of centralization under such a Government as that of Austria to discipline her political turbulence, and to qualify her to re-enter the European community of States. They were able, by their new historical investigations, to reject many of Lelewel's utopian views of the past of Poland; and Galicia began to abandon the wild hopes of the romantic period for a concentration on narrower local problems. It must be remembered that Galicia had been cut off from Poland in 1773, had taken no part in the national revival that followed, and was more backward and less patriotic than the other parts of Poland. Further, the Galician peasants had only been emancipated in 1848, and the class antagonism between the landowner and his former serf made the gentry timorous and conservative in all their political activities. Moreover, the bulk of the peasants of Eastern Galicia were of Little Russian stock; and among them a new national movement had been formed, based on the traditions of Cossack rebellion. All these factors drove the Galician gentry into the Conservative fold, and led to the consolidation, for the first time since the Partitions, of a real Polish Conservative party, which effected an agreement with the Austrian Government and began to vote with the German party in the Reichsrath, thus forming a solid majority for the Government, and to supply a number of statesmen and civil servants to the Hapsburg monarchy.

In Russian Poland there was no field for political activity, so the reaction against Romanticism took another form. A few Conservative landowners continued Wielopolski's " conciliatory " policy under the leadership of his son and tried to rally round the throne and obtain some moderate concessions for the Poles. But the bulk

of the educated class developed a new policy of "Work at the foundations." Every pathway towards the realization of the national aims seemed closed, and the Poles turned to practical work in the form of industry, education, to sociological and philanthropical work among the peasantry and workmen. The Cracow School of History had some influence on their attitude to the past of Poland; and they resolved to abandon the traditions of the Polish gentry in favour of more progressive ideas; to broaden the basis of the community by democracy, commerce and industry. To create a middle class by the assimilation of the Jews and to raise the peasantry to take a greater part in national affairs, were essential features of their new programme. The industrial expansion after 1850 and the emancipation of the peasantry had brought new problems; and the gospel of practical work and national consolidation rather than any political theory guided men's thoughts. Such philosophy as there was became formulated in the system of Positivism, enunciated by Świentochowski, who introduced Western ideas, chiefly English radicalism, by his novels, his journalistic articles, and his translations of Darwin, Mill and Buckle. Social problems were dealt with in a Dickens-like form by the novelists Orzeszkowa and "Prus." Russian Poland refused to give allegiance to the principle of triple loyalty. The gulf between the autocracy and the Poles was too wide to be bridged. But the Poles definitely broke with the tradition of armed resistance, in order to check the exhaustion of Polish manhood in futile insurrections. In view of the absence of any parliamentary institutions in Russia, this policy was equivalent to a renunciation of all national protests and claims; but the current of latent patriotism continued to flow strongly beneath the smooth surface of political apathy. Prussian Poland, meanwhile, was suffering from the disappointment that followed the



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sanguine hopes of the revolutionary period; the relatively small community of landowners in Poznania was in some danger of assimilation by the Prussian nobility; and German colonization had almost made a German province of Poznania, the German element having risen from 20 per cent. in 1815 to 47 per cent. in 1867.

But fresh factors in the situation soon appeared. Socialism made its appearance in the 'seventies, both in the Kingdom of Poland and in Galicia, and turned men's minds once more into political channels. The real stimulus to a national revival however came from Germany. The success of Prussia over Austria and France had created that new sense of German unity and imperialism, which saw its chief task in the completion of the task of crushing the alien Polish element in the Eastern marches. The sinister figure of Bismarck appeared, and dominated Polish affairs for thirty years. His plan of campaign against the Poles consisted of three parts: religious persecution, cultural assimilation, and colonization. In 1873 he embarked on the famous *Kulturkampf* which was specially aimed at the Catholic Poles. In the next year he founded the *Ostmarkverein*, composed chiefly of civil servants and military officers, to propagate German culture in the East. Finally in 1886 he set up a Colonization Commission, endowed with large funds, for the purchase of Polish estates and the settlement thereon of German colonists. These measures following on the complete elimination of the Polish language from schools, law courts, Government offices and even public places stirred up a sturdy and stubborn national resistance among the Poles of Poznania—a movement which awoke an echo all over Poland. The new entente between the Polish Conservatives and the Austrian Government, and the futility of attempting to resist Russia, served to concentrate the attention of

the Poles on the struggle with their most ancient foe—Germany.

The Kingdom naturally took the lead in the new revival of national ideas. In 1886 the Polish League was founded, later renamed the National League, which gradually developed into a definite political party which called itself the National Democrat party. The essence of this school of politics was that it should be Pan-Polish, *i.e.* it was to concern itself with the problems and struggles of all three parts of divided Poland. Besides this, it was to be both national and democratic, *i.e.* it was to embody the peasants and workmen in the national community, to hand down the national traditions of the Polish gentry to the new citizens of the lower classes. The two main factors in the situation were: the menaced position of the Polish peasants of Poznania before the attacks of the German imperialist organizations, and the future of the Polish peasants in the Kingdom. The latter had been emancipated and given land by the Russian Government in 1864. Besides giving them land, the Government had endowed them with a wide local autonomy. The Russian theory was that Polish patriotism was confined to the gentry and priests; the peasants would be grateful to the Government for their land, and the village commune would be a contented unit, hostile to the national traditions of the gentry. In fact the peasant, it was hoped, would become a good Russian citizen. The struggle of the National party for the peasants was slow, but the result was never in doubt. Despite all repressive measures, the education of the peasant continued, till complete national consciousness was aroused; and the Polish peasant took his place as the mainstay of Polish nationalism. This great revolution is perhaps the most important event in modern Polish history; and it has created, out of a loose community of classes, the most solid and tenacious

national group in Europe. The national party had not only to fight the policy of russification; it had to struggle against far more insidious evils. The great growth of industry in Russian Poland had created a proletariate which was peculiarly receptive to the new socialist ideas. The principles of Social Democracy began to take hold on the great industrial and commercial centres. The presence in Poland of a great population of Jews made the position still more dangerous. Poland had always tolerated the Jews, but had kept them outside the Polish nation as a separate class. Several great attempts to assimilate them, and to form a strong middle class, had been made, especially by Wielopolski. Though most of the Jews were friendly to Poland, after 1863 they naturally came more and more under Russian influence. So that, by their mere passivity in the national struggle, they were, in a negative way, a source of weakness and danger to Poland. Many of them were adherents of the social democratic ideas, and the links of language (the Polish Jew speaks Yiddish) and commerce with the German element, made them a very dangerous force in Poland. Besides this, the cosmopolitan tendencies of centres like Warsaw and Lodz, the repressive measures of the Government, the system of secret police, informers and spies, which was carried even into the schools, the outbursts of hysterical gaiety which followed the long strain of the last insurrection, were all leading to a general lowering of the moral tone of Russian Poland. This has been perhaps the most insidious of all the dangers to Polish nationality, and will leave its mark on Poland for many years to come. To sum up, then, the National party in Russian Poland had to struggle both against Russian nationalism and against socialism; and three definite political groups gradually grew up, the National Democrats, the "Conciliators," who now began to call themselves the "Realist" party,

and the Socialist parties. A fourth current of opinion represented the progressive ideas of Świentochowski, and was partly composed of Jews or Poles of recent Jewish origin, partly of Polish radicals.

Meanwhile, in Prussia, the campaign of Bismarck against the Poles had yielded astonishing but unexpected results. The *Ostmarkverein* and the Colonization Commission stirred up such a stout and united national opposition as has seldom been seen in history. The Poles of Poznania abandoned art, literature and all unnecessary cultural baggage, and threw their whole energies into the political and economic struggle. It must be remembered that the gentry of Great Poland had always been distinguished among the Poles for their patriotism. The peasants, who had been free landed proprietors since 1823, now inherited this tradition. The two classes were welded into one democratic community, which made rapid advances in education and economic organization. So powerful was the impetus of the national movement, that Poznania rapidly recovered its position as a Polish province, and the German element declined from 47 per cent. to 37 per cent. From Poznania the movement spread to Prussia. A revival of national feeling spread over West Prussia and even affected the Lutheran Mazovians of East Prussia. But the greatest victory for the Polish cause took place in Silesia. This province had been cut off from Poland in the fourteenth century; and although the peasants of Upper Silesia continued to speak Polish, externally they were completely germanized. But they were zealous Catholics, and the attack of Bismarck on their religion at once drove them to combine with the Poles of other provinces, and they were soon infected with the new national feeling. The result was the accession to the Polish cause of a million and a quarter new citizens, who began to co-operate with their fellow citizens of

Poznania, and to elect Polish deputies to the Reichstag. This new accession of strength was the more important as many of the Silesian Poles were workmen on the coalfields and in the factories of Silesia, and could give to Poland a large skilled and well-educated industrial class.

The intensive national struggle gave the Poles of Prussia a close political unity. There were parties, it is true, but they were united in a common Polish Club both in the Reichstag, the Prussian Diet, and the Prussian House of Lords. In all these three houses the Polish clubs have been in opposition to the German majorities, and have fought a resolute fight for their national claims, uniting sometimes with the Catholic Centre on religious questions, sometimes with the Danes, Alsatians and even the Socialists in protests against German imperialism. A few Socialists were elected as deputies for Silesia, but the bulk of the Polish deputies either belonged to or co-operated with the National Democrat party. In Prussian Poland, then, there were two main political groups, the Conservatives and the National Democrats; and both were united in the Reichstag by a system, which soon became common to all parts of Poland, the union of all parties in a common committee known as the Polish Club or Circle (*Kolo polskie*). The leading personalities among the Polish deputies were Prince Ferdinand Radziwill, president of the Club, Mr Wladyslaw Seyda, the able editor of the "Poznań Courier," Mr Trompczynski and Mr Korfanty, a workman deputy from Silesia.

In Austrian Poland political divisions were far more complex owing to the strong attraction of the civil service, which offered seductive careers under the Government, to the deep class antipathies among the Poles, and to the national claims of the Jews and Ruthenians. The original Polish parties were the Conservatives, including

the Cracow "Stańczyk" party and the group of East Galician landowners, and the Democratic party, including Polish radicals with a strong infusion of assimilated Jews. To these must be added the new Social Democrat party. But Polish socialism here, as elsewhere, retained a strong national tinge, and the Polish Socialist party was far stronger than the internationalist party. There were also the Sionist party of the Jewish Nationalists and two Ruthenian parties, the Old Ruthenians, who were strongly Russophil, and the Ukrainist party, representing the new Ruthenian national movement for independence. But two new movements were destined to throw into the shade this early party grouping. The mass of the Galician peasants had hitherto formed an ignorant body utilized as passive tools by the Austrian government. In 1879 a Polish priest, Stanislaw Stojalowski determined to awaken the peasants to take their natural part in political and social life. He became editor of a peasant paper, "The Bee," and inaugurated a great campaign to rouse the peasants from their ignorance and lethargy. The new Polish schools were beginning to spread some knowledge among the peasants, and a new type of educated peasant appeared such as Jakub Bojko who travelled all over Poland and wrote his impressions of Polish life. Out of these raw materials Stojalowski created a political party. But such a party naturally maintained a strong feeling of antagonism to the gentry, and began to go far beyond the ideas of its leader. Under Bojko and Jan Stapiński, a pupil of Stojalowski, there was founded the Popular party, a purely peasant organization, a party with many faults but genuinely representative of peasant interests. With the grant of complete manhood suffrage to all parts af Austria in 1907 the Popular party became the largest political party in Galicia. Secondly, Galicia was affected in the nineties by the new national current

of political thought. Hitherto parties had been formed on purely class lines. A campaign for national unity was carried on by emissaries from Russian Poland, especially Mr Roman Dmowski. This movement started in Lemberg, and led to the formation of the National Democratic party in Galicia. This party, at first almost insignificant, slowly grew. It incorporated the more national element of Stojalowski's party, and received a great accession of strength after the franchise reform of 1907 which dealt a great blow to the Conservatives. It also developed the principle of unity and national solidarity, struggling against both the class interests that were so strong in the Popular and Democratic parties and against the Austrophil element in all parties, particularly the Conservatives. The national movement strongly affected the Popular party which in 1913 split into two groups—a moderate group more closely in touch with the National current and a radical group under Stapiński.

It is essential to distinguish carefully the different Polish institutions in Galicia. There was a Galician Diet in which the Poles and Ruthenians sat together. There was also the Austrian Parliament, the Reichsrath, to which Galicia sent 81 Polish deputies and 28 Ruthenian deputies. Of the Polish deputies, the Socialists and extreme Populists sat with the other Socialists of the Empire. All the other Polish deputies, 67 in number, formed a solid mass directed by a common Polish Club. But the supreme political body of Galicia was the Circle or Club composed of the Polish deputies both to the Reichsrath and to the Galician Diet or *Sejm*. Before the War, then, Polish parties in Galicia were divided as follows :—

Right wing { The Cracow Conservative party (chiefly landowners). / The East Galician party (landowners).

Centre	The Centre party The National Democrat party (Pan-Polish). The Christian Popular Union (the former Stojalowski party).
Left wing	The Polish Democracy. The Progressive Group. The Popular party. The Polish Socialist party.

The Conservative party is reduced in numbers but contains many important individuals, such as Count Tarnowski and Mr Korytowski, ex-Minister of Finance in Austria. The Centre party, led by Prince Witold Czartoryski, occupies an intermediate position between the Conservatives and the Democrats. The National Democrats are led by Mr Glombiński, ex-Minister of Finance in Austria, and Mr Stanislaw Grabski. The Popular party contains a few intellectuals like Mr W. Tetmajer, the painter, and a large number of educated peasants like Kendzior and Witoś, leaders of the national wing, and the veteran Stapiński, leader of the radical wing. The Polish Socialist party is led by the brilliant Mr Ignacy Daszyński and newer leaders like Mr Diamand.

In Russian Poland, although the National Democrat group carried on wide educational and political activities, political parties were not yet stereotyped in the absence of any form of Parliamentary government. It was the Russian revolution of 1905-6 that led to the final formation of parties. When the strikes began in 1905 there were three main groups in Poland—the Realists, who had developed into a strong party under the influence of Spasowicz, a lawyer and literary critic, who believed implicitly in the conciliatory policy of Wielopolski. They were few in number but possessed a wealth of individual talent in Mr Dembiński, Mr Straszewicz and Mr Piltz, together with a number of eminent landowners

and churchmen. This party strove for a friendly agreement with the Russian Government with a view to obtaining moderate concessions. The Socialists formed two groups, the Social Democrat party, which desired a general international revolution in co-operation with the socialists of Russia, and the Polish party of socialists which had inherited many of the traditions of romanticism and desired an independent Polish Socialist Republic. Against both these currents the National Democrat party struggled for a united constitutional policy of autonomy and rights for the Polish language in the schools, law-courts and administration. The party was ably led by Mr Dmowski and Mr Balicki, and when the elections to the Duma took place, it secured all the Polish seats in the Russian Parliament. So powerful was the Polish party in the first two Dumas that the Government were forced to limit the franchise, and the Polish deputies sank in number from 34 to 12. Moreover, the influence of contact with Russia at Petrograd has always modified the attitude of Poles to Russia, so that the party became more and more moderate in its demands. This led to a secession, while the growing opposition of the National Democrats to the Jews led to a second secession. Polish parties in Russia before the War were divided as follows:

Right wing	The Realist party.
Centre	The National Democrat party.
	The Secession.
	The Fronde (the more Chauvinist section).
Left wing	The Polish Progressive party.
	The Progressive Union.
	The Peasants' Union.
	The Polish party of Socialists.
	The Social Democrat party.

The Progressive parties remained strong in Warsaw under the leadership of Mr Świentochowski and con-

tained a strong Jewish element. The Polish representatives in the Duma were united in a Polish Club (*Kolo polskie*) as in Prussia and Austria.

From a general Polish point of view the two main questions at issue between the different parties were the position of the rising democracy of Poland and the attitude of the Poles as a whole towards the three Powers that ruled them. The National Democrat Party was the strongest party in Poland as a whole, but it had become more national and less democratic. A great change of attitude came over it after the Balkan crisis of 1908, when it became obvious that Germany was the real enemy of all the Slavs and that Austria was a mere tool in the hands of Germany. The neo-Slav movement sprang up, in which Mr Dmowski took a leading part, and resulted in a slight advance towards co-operation between constitutional Russian elements and the Poles. The Polish leaders recognized clearly that only one power, Germany, had a consistent anti-Polish policy. Germany was the real foe; Austria was her tool. So Mr Dmowski realized that it was essential to organize all the forces of Poland for the coming struggle against Germany, and resolved to work, so far as was possible, with Russia to this end. This idea of a "Russian solution" of the Polish question found unanimous support in Prussia where Russia seemed more remote and less dangerous than German Imperialism. It found some support in Galicia from the National Democrat party and the Centre party, but was stoutly opposed by the Austrophil tendencies of the Galician Conservatives and by the underground activities of the Polish Socialists in the Kingdom and the Polish Socialist party in Austria. To them an "Austrian solution" seemed the natural way out of the difficulty. They were blind to the weakness of Austria and her growing subservience to Prussia, which was obvious after the

annexation of Bosnia in 1908. The Poles in Galicia began to plot against Russia and formed secret organizations in view of a future war. The doubtful factor in the situation was the Popular party, representing the cautious Polish peasant. After the split of 1913 the Radical group tended towards co-operation with the Austrophil parties, while the moderate section became more and more Nationalist in its outlook. Thus the War of 1914 found Poland divided into two camps. There was no pro-German party—there never has been in Poland since the betrayal of 1792. But there was a strong Austrian party in Galicia supported by such Socialists as Pilsudski in Russian Poland. But the chief mass of the Poles supported a " Russian solution " and they were ably led by Mr Dmowski, the greatest living statesman that Poland has produced. His brilliant political leadership in 1905-6 saved Poland from the disaster of armed insurrection. He has educated and organized the one great party that is Pan-Polish, and has done more for the unity and solidarity of Poland than any other leader, especially in combating the particularist and provincial ideas of the Galician Conservatives and the anti-national movement of social democracy. Mr Dmowski is a man of keen penetration and great foresight. In a conversation with the present writer as long ago as 1911 he prophesied the break up of the Russian Empire into its component parts. He was never a pro-Russian as has been stated by his enemies. He only saw in Russia a less dangerous enemy than Germany. His work for the democratization and unity of Poland has to-day been crowned with success; and it was largely as a result of his labours that the War found Poland divided, it is true, but with all the elements of a future political system, which enabled her, on the fall of Germany, to take her place at once as an independent nation.

CHAPTER VII

THE COUNTRY-SIDE

BEHIND the clamour and tumult of armed revolution and political quarrels, outside the domain of civic organization and culture, lies the great expanse of the Polish country, with its immense resources of men and produce, its monotonous round of daily toil and its vast silences. Here is the main source of national prosperity—the soil; here are the two main groups of Polish society, the landed gentry, upholding the past traditions of Poland, and the peasantry, representing her future. To-day a great revolution is in progress, the advance of the peasant proprietor to take his place as the most important unit in the community. Formerly the gentry alone constituted the Polish State. They were neither an aristocracy nor an oligarchy, as is so often asserted in foreign accounts of Poland, either through malice or through ignorance. The Polish gentry formed a large class, all the members of which were free and equal. The Polish gentry were far more numerous than the oligarchy of country gentlemen and rich merchants, who governed England after the Revolution. In fact Poland, at the height of its power, was one of the most democratic States in Europe. In earlier days there had been an aristocracy. But the fifteenth century saw the rise of the lesser gentry, or *szlachta*, who were all owners of land, and formed the main body of citizens of this new republican community. The main reason for the depression of the

peasants and burghers, was the defenceless nature of a country, open on both sides to the attacks of Germans and of Tartars. The terrible depopulation resulting from Tartar raids had brought into Poland considerable foreign elements, especially into the towns. Such elements were gradually assimilated, but were not strong enough to obtain the full rights of citizenship. The peasants were weak and unenterprising. All the most virile and progressive part of the community, corresponding to the independent yeoman farmers of England or the citizens of the medieval communes of Italy or Germany, had passed into the *szlachta* class, to which the peasantry remained a foreign element, recruited, as it was, from among German immigrants and innumerable prisoners of war. The *szlachta*, with the indispensable Jew as its agent and factor, became the sole landowning and trading class—the sons of Japhet, according to the Polish theory of the time, as contrasted with the sons of Shem, the Jews, and the sons of Ham, the peasants. On the disappearance of the great lords or *Pans*, the *szlachta* became the ruling class, and soon reduced the power of the monarchy to insignificance. The Polish gentry possessed coats of arms, but they had no titles. The only exception were the descendants of Rurik, Grand Prince of Russia, and of Gedymin, Grand Prince of Lithuania. Their dynasties left a number of princely descendants, some of whom survive to-day—the families of Czartoryski, Sanguszko, Lubecki, Czetwertyński and others. But they were in no way regarded as superior to their fellows. Poland became a Republic of free, turbulent, genial country gentlemen, whose houses (*dvory*) were spread over the whole plain, from Dantzig to Kiev and the borders of the Crimea. With the decline of education, equality and freedom also declined, and certain families raised themselves to such power, and amassed such vast fortunes

in land, as to overthrow the equilibrium of the State. Moreover, with the partitions came the influence of foreign Courts and their aristocracies; and soon the leading Polish families began to take titles. But the skeleton of the former Polish class of landowners, *szlachta*, has remained, not only in Poland proper, but all over Lithuania and the Ukraine; and each Polish *dvor* or country house is an outpost of Polish life.

The Polish *szlachta* was mainly of purely Polish origin, and is seen at its best in Great Poland, where magnates were few, where the lesser gentry have always flourished, and have a great name for patriotism and progress. They are in close contact with Germany and Western Europe. Their history shows how progressive and enlightened the Polish State would have been, if it had not been in contact with the East; and to-day the gentry of Poznania and West Prussia have co-operated zealously in the great struggle against the Germans, and their estates are the most scientifically managed in all Poland. Lesser Poland is a region of great families, old families such as the Tarnowskis and Zamoyskis, and newer families like the Wielopolskis and Goluchowskis. Mazovia was the most democratic country of all; in fact it was the annexation of Mazovia, in 1526, that brought into Poland a mass of poor gentlemen and squires, who strengthened the *szlachta* class numerically, and enabled it to overthrow the monarchy. Many of the Mazovian gentry have remained poor; and to-day there are whole villages of gentry who, except that they possess coats of arms, are indistinguishable from the peasantry around them. Only a few families have risen to wealth and eminence in Mazovia. Such are the Krasińskis, Rzewuskis, and some families of quite recent origin. The magnates and most of the higher aristocracy of Poland to-day come from the eastern provinces, and are either of non-Polish origin, or sprung from

adventurous immigrants from Lesser Poland. An instance of the latter is the great family of Potocki, the chief landowners in Volhynia and the Ukraine. Another great Polish family are the Branickis of the province of Kiev. But the bulk of the gentry in these regions are sprung from mixed stock, the result of a racial blend. The whole of the gentry of the Lithuanians and Little Russians gradually became Polish; they accepted the Catholic faith and the Polish language, and gave to Poland some of her greatest men and most of her magnates. The most powerful families in Lithuania were the Radziwills, of Lithuanian boyar origin, whose palace at Nieświež was the centre of the largest estate in Europe, the families of Sapieha, Ogiński and Pac, the last two being extinct to-day. Further south a number of descendents of Gedymin and Rurik have now disappeared, the great families of Ostrogski, Chodkiewicz and Wiśniowiecki; but the Czartoryskis, Sanguszkos and others remain. The Ukraine proper has fallen into the hands of Polish immigrants such as the Potockis and Branickis. Originally a member of the Polish *szlachta* used simply his Christian name, and the title of the coat of arms which was common to all the members of his clan. Later on each family began to take the name of some village or town, with the addition of *-ski*, which is the Polish equivalent for the French *de* or German *von*. Thus John of Zamość called himself John Zamoyski, Stephen of Potok called himself Potocki. Although time has scattered most families far from their original home, nearly all the names of the genuinely Polish *szlachta* can be traced back to some locality. Lately many Jews have called themselves after towns, instead of adopting their patronymics. Thus a Jew, instead of calling himself Berek (Baruch) Berekson or Bergson—a typical name—will call himself Warszawski (from Warsaw) or Poznanski. So that

there are Jewish Zamoyskis to-day, as well as the original *szlachta* of that name. Again, the gentry of part of Livonia, as well as of Dantzig and Prussia generally, brought many German names into Poland, and soon became patriotic Poles. Such are the families of Denhoff, Weyssenhoff and Ronikier from Livonia, Fleming from Prussia and a mass of middle class families in the towns, such as Lelewel, Kopernik (Copernicus), Hoffman. Many family names have the termination -wicz (vich) as in Russian—Mickiewicz (*i.e.* son of Matthew), Sienkiewicz ; or such purely Little Russian names as Kościuszko, a diminutive of Constantine.

In Poland there was no law of primogeniture. Each son inherited the title and an equal share of the property of his father. So there are many Counts Zamoyski and Potocki. A Scottish Gordon, Earl of Huntly, was in exile in Poland in the seventeenth century, and when he returned to Scotland, he left a younger son in Poland, who continued to call himself Earl of Huntly. Although the elder branch of the family has the sole right to the title in Scotland, the younger line has always preserved the title in Poland. The rank of gentleman (*szlachcic*) was held in high honour in Poland, but was often extended to outsiders. Thus a foreigner could be granted the rank of *szlachcic*, and native Poles of a lower class could be also received into the class of gentry. For instance the soldiers of Sobieski's army after Vienna were all received into the *szlachta*. To-day, the *szlachta* no longer exists as a distinct class, and members of the gentry may be found in shops or even factories in Warsaw. But the country gentry are still a numerous and influential part of the community, though they have yielded their exclusive rights, and handed down their cultural traditions to the other classes. The whole life of the *szlachta* is splendidly described in Mickiewicz's great epic (see Chapter XII.). To-day the country house,

especially in the eastern provinces, has preserved many of the ancestral traditions of the Polish gentry.

The typical Polish *dvor* or country house is built of wood, and has a verandah on two or more sides. The larger kind of house has two wings built round a wide courtyard. It contains many rooms, all on the ground floor and opening into each other, so that the bedrooms are not removed from the living-rooms as in England. There is generally no upper storey and no stairs. Wings are added as the numbers of the family increase, and the main block, together with the stables and the home farm, forms a very extensive group of buildings. Land formerly cost nothing to the squire, so building was extensive rather than intensive; and the bulk of the gentry, in view of the frequency of fires, Tartar raids, and from a general tendency to migrate, preferred to erect temporary rather than permanent houses, with the result that Poland is not distinguished for the solidity of its country houses like England, France or Germany. To-day there is a tendency to use stone or brick, and to build more pretentious and lasting residences. The Polish country house stands in its own grounds, and usually has an avenue of trees, generally limes or poplars, so that its position is visible from a great distance over the plain. The Poles were always great agriculturists; but in the eighteenth century agriculture declined, especially after the loss of Dantzig. It was revived in the Ukraine with the rise of Odessa, and the export of corn to Western Europe was transferred from Dantzig to the Black Sea ports, while Great Poland became the granary for Germany. Moreover, the Poles were ruled out of all government service in Russia or Prussia, so they retired to their estates where alone they could enjoy comparative freedom, in contrast to the Russian gentry, who flocked to the Court, the Army, and the Civil Service. The Poles became expert agriculturists,

and their prosperous estates in the Ukraine can be easily distinguished from the neighbouring Russian estates, which are generally neglected by their absentee proprietors. Almost all the Polish landowners manage their own estates to-day, and are usually assisted by an educated steward, who has completed a course at some agricultural college, either in Galicia or abroad. The estate generally consists of a home farm, near the house, and several more remote farms, each with their own land and under the control of an *ekonom* or manager. The *dvor* is often a centre of education for the villages close by. The squire is generally president of the local agricultural circle; and, under Russian rule, there was usually a secret school for village girls under the lady of the house. The prejudice of the peasant against the squire, and indeed against educated people in general, is only gradually disappearing; but in some parts, especially in Poznania, the national struggle has combined squire and peasant in co-operative organizations against the common foe. Class antipathies are strongest in Galicia; but even here education and joint action in Parliament have introduced new ideas, and have brought about closer co-operation in the national and economic fields. The Polish country house is best described in the words of Mickiewicz:

"Amid such fields as these, long years ago,
By a brook, on a slope, amid a grove of birches,
There stood a country house of wood on stone.
Its white walls shone afar, the whiter still
That it stood out from the dark green of poplars,
That gave it shelter from the autumn winds.
Not large the dwelling house, but neat and snug.
A mighty barn it had, and near the barn
Three stacks of hay its roof could not contain;
'Twas clear the neighbourhood was rich in corn.
From the numerous sheaves, that up and down the furrows
Shone thick as stars, and from the numerous ploughs
Turning betimes the wide black fallow earth,

Clearly belonging to the house hard by—
Tilled well and truly, like to beds of flowers,—
'Twas clear that in this house had habitation
Plenty and order—All might see the gate
Open in widest hospitality."[1]

Life in a Polish country house is a strange combination of simplicity and display. In a typical house there are many elements lacking which we should consider indispensable. There are few carpets. The floors are generally polished, and in the morning one can see a rosy-cheeked servant girl, in a red skirt and red kerchief, sliding barelegged on two dusters, till the floor shines like glass. The walls are often covered with nothing but distemper or rough-cast, with few pictures or ornaments. The drawing-room is often quite bare and empty save for a few chairs and a piano, though some houses have large collections of pictures. All the Poles amuse themselves with music and the national dances. The writer stayed in one house where the whole family was intensely musical, playing on the organ, piano, and violin. The drawing-room is generally little more than a ball-room, and on the slightest pretext—a holiday, birthday, or the presence of guests—dancing will begin at any hour of the day or night, and continue for hours, with a magnificent contempt of time. Hospitality is universal and unlimited. Guests will be accommodated in all the rooms, and will sleep on sofas, on mattresses, on the floor, or even in barns. Horses will always be lent to convey guests over long distances from house to house; and the stranger will be amazed at the close connection between one country house and another in the Ukraine, where enormous distances are covered in appalling conditions of dust, mud or snow. Mud is universal in the spring and the autumn, and a carriage must be drawn by four horses abreast. Accidents are frequent,

[1] All the translations from Polish poetry are quite literal. The author has not attempted to render them as English poetry, though sometimes they fall quite naturally into blank verse.

and the Pole thinks nothing of falling out into the mud and snow, as the bad roads are proverbial. An ancient Polish custom in Carnival time is the *Kulik*, described in Malczewski's "Marya." The guests of a country house, in masks and fancy dress, turn out in carriages or sledges and pay a visit to their neighbours, who in their turn are compelled to join the procession. The party proceeds from house to house, in each of which they receive hospitality; and so the progress continues till all the Polish gentry in the district have been visited and have joined the procession. Accidents are frequent and taken as a matter of course. Not only are the roads execrable, but a carriage is often held up by a bank of earth or a stream across the track. The writer was once met at a station in the Ukraine by his host in a motor car, which carried not only a chauffeur, but a gardener with a spade. After a long run the car was held up by a stream, and the host got out and asked his guest to smoke a cigarette, while the gardener dug a way round through a bank into the forest, where the water was more shallow. It is often necessary to overcome obstacles of this kind, and to find a way round. The word *objechać* (to go round) is one of the first Polish words a stranger must learn.

The Poles are enormous eaters, and have a splendid *cuisine* of their own. The feast begins with *zakonski*, or hors d'œuvres, which form a whole meal in themselves. Various dishes are spread out on a side table, consisting of *vodka* or some other stimulant, herrings, sardines, slices of ham or wild boar, cucumber, mushrooms, potatoes and other delicacies. Then comes the dinner proper. First of all, soup of great quantity and variety. Beetroot and mushroom soups are excellent, and Poland is famous for its frozen soups (*chlodnik*). With the soup, meat pies are usually served. Then come fish or game, then meat, and then sweets. When the main

meal is finished, the *samovar* is brought in, tea is drunk and a number of small cakes are eaten. These cakes are of great variety, and there are different kinds for the different festivals of the year. For Christmas there are cakes flavoured with saffron; others contain poppy seed. For Carnival and Easter, tasty doughnuts and other sweet delicacies are made. Most of these cakes are made by the ladies in a country house. The house is usually largely self-supporting, and the lady is always an excellent house-wife. The greatest festival of the year is Easter, when a side-board covered with tempting food is laid out, and decorated with leaves and flowers. In the centre there is always a symbolical lamb and many Easter eggs made of sweet-stuffs, and painted with various designs. This table is blessed by the priest, and called the *Święcony* or "sanctified." All Poles pay calls to their friends at Easter and partake of their hospitality. Hot soup is generally provided, but the cold viands are the chief part of the feast. In the towns, where guests eat cold meats with their friends all day, the result is generally violent indigestion; and the doctors are always busy for a week or two after Easter. At the end of any meal, all the guests kiss the hand of the hostess, and thank her for the meal. Another custom is that of singing carols (*kolendy*) at Christmas time. "Waits" go round the various houses, dressed in all sorts of costumes, representing animals or biblical characters, the Devil or Herod, with all kinds of musical instruments, and sing the old Polish carols, some of which are of great antiquity.

The life in a country house is a queer mixture of ceremony and easy-going simplicity. Some houses keep up great state, with a mass of servants, some of them called Cossacks and dressed in Cossack liveries. In all houses there exists an unexpressed, but strong *patria potestas*. The old gentleman and lady are held in great

awe, and observe the ceremony and courtesy of an older age. They say the last word in all matters affecting the family honour; and marriages are often arranged by the parents, as in France. The dowry of the daughter plays a large part in such matrimonial arrangements. Despite this superficial ceremoniousness, the relations between all members of the family are close and affectionate. The old days have passed away when the parents scarcely saw their children, except at a formal interview, when the son of the house was often flogged just like the peasant, except that he was allowed to lie on a carpet. The age of ignorant magnificence and artificiality have given place to a more modern mode of life. All the country gentry to-day are zealous and scientific managers of their estates, and many of them occupy themselves with intellectual and artistic pursuits. One house the writer visited in the far south, where the squire was a keen archæologist. He had excavated 120 *kurgans* or tombs, and had a magnificent museum of Greek, Scythian and Slavonic ornaments and curiosities. The old country life of the *szlachta* survives strongly in the Ukraine. Yet even this region has given to Poland in recent years many writers, musicians and social workers. In Poland proper, the *dvor* is completely modernized, and the Polish landowner has little to distinguish him from his Western counterpart, save a greater sociability, a more ceremonious observance of the virtues of hospitality and charity, and a number of customs inherited from his ancestors.

Alongside the country house lies the cottage as the mainstay of Polish life. The Polish peasant is almost always a landed proprietor. There is no communal ownership of land in the Polish village, as in Russia; so that the villages are not so compact, and often consist of a number of scattered farms. The Polish peasant in the past was a very humble member of the Polish

community—in fact he scarcely belonged to it at all. He had for 350 years no civic rights whatever. He was the serf of his master. It was only the easy-going and patriarchal relations between squire and peasant that made life tolerable for the latter. But through all the period of serfdom, he clung tenaciously to his land, like all the Slavs. However burdensome the forced labour he carried out for the landowner, he always worked at his own plot of land. Since the emancipation of the serfs, an enormous revolution has taken place. The Polish peasants are not only free and possessed of their own land, but they are taking a great share in the national life, and are giving to Poland many of its leaders in all departments of life. It is enough here to mention the names of Wawrzyniak, the great social organizer and financier, Kasprowicz the poet, and Przybyszewski the dramatist—all sons of peasants—to illustrate this great cultural advance. The entrance of the peasant into political life is discussed elsewhere in this book (see Chapter VI.), and to-day the new Polish parliament, in contrast to the great reforming *Sejm* of 1791, consists chiefly of peasants. The Polish peasant was scarcely conscious of his nationality even as late as the Insurrection of 1863 in which he took merely a passive part. But he has resisted the blandishments of alien governments, and declared himself a Pole, and to-day the main support of Polish nationalism is among the peasants. He has not lost his sturdy attachment to the soil, he has associated himself with all the best of the national traditions, and he has contributed to the national resources his great qualities of courage and tenacity, his vast undeveloped talent and latent abilities. His main interests are the land, religion and patriotism. He is first and foremost a tiller of the soil, who would be lost without his land. He is devotedly attached to the Catholic Church; and

the Polish priest, though most often of another class, is always respected and followed by the peasants. Lastly, he is well acquainted with the national tradition. He knows of Piast, the mythical founder of the Polish monarchy, of Casimir the "peasant king," of Jadwiga, who sacrificed herself to convert the barbarian Prince of Lithuania to Christianity, and of Kościuszko who first gave him his freedom. On the death of the last-named hero, the peasants of Poland brought baskets of earth from all parts of Poland, and raised in his honour near Cracow a great mound, which bears his name to this day. Whereas the educated Pole knows by statistics that Dantzig is no longer a Polish town, the peasant knows by tradition that it is. He refuses to accept the German advance as permanent, and his stubborn resistance to facts has made him a more dangerous opponent to foreign oppression than the enlightened squire. Many a peasant in Poznania has been unable to find his way by rail or road to his native village, owing to his ignorance of, or refusal to admit, its new German name. The Russians introduced roubles and kopecks into Poland, but the peasant continued to calculate in the old Polish gulden and groschen (*zloty* and *grosz*). The attempt to educate the peasants in the Russian language was a mere farce. Many a systematic German or Russian plan for attack on the Polish nationality has failed before the inarticulate, but obstinate conservatism of the peasant. He has fewer national traditions than the gentry, but they are a fundamental part of his life, and he is less likely to lose them than the emigrant gentry, whose imagination and intellect has often been allured by fresh alien ideas. The peasant reckoned little of romanticism, socialism or modernism, of art or politics; and this ignorance was his chief strength. To-day he has acquired a knowledge of these things, but his conservative strength

remains, and is a great national asset. The individual peasant, when he is educated, may chase some butterfly fancy, like the intellectual; but the mass of the villagers remain in the cottage and at the plough. The national virtues of imagination and sociability are qualified by sound common sense and the conservatism that is bred of close contact with the soil.

The religious spirit of the peasant is revealed in his conversation, his resignation to the will of God, and his respect for the village priest. His ordinary greeting is "May Jesus Christ be praised," to which the answer is "for ever and ever." The whole country-side is covered with shrines, from a large monastery like that of Czenstochowa, to which he makes pilgrimages, to the small chapels at the crossroads or wells and the universal wayside crosses, which generally hold a figure of the suffering Christ with some kind of decorative scheme. One of the chief characteristics of the village is the crowd in and outside the church on Sundays and Feast days. And Polish religion is no mere formalism, as it often is in Russia; it is a deep reverence and devotion to the Roman Catholic Church, which permeates all the life of the peasant. The great festivals of Easter, Christmas and All Souls' Day preserve also many features of paganism; and purely pagan is the festival of St John's Eve, known popularly as Sobotka. A bonfire is lit at sunset, and the whole village gathers round it, the young men in their national costumes and the girls in all their finery, with wands and wreaths of flowers. They form a circle round the fire, and dance to the accompaniment of music. The musicians play ancient melodies on instruments something like the lyre. As the excitement increases, the young peasants jump over the bonfire. If there is water near at hand they take buckets and throw their contents over the village girls, and many superstitions are attached to the whole

ceremony. The wedding ceremonies are also interesting The bride wears a wreathed crown, and the whole company is dressed up in full costume and wreathed with flowers. The procession is generally equestrian, in carts and on horseback, and accompanied by music and singing. There is a wealth of folk melodies in Poland, about love and war and all the chief incidents in the life of the peasant. Above all, music is universal, and the national dances are to be seen at every village function, especially the Mazurka and the Krakowiak.

The Polish village is often very scattered. Its chief street is seldom paved. Dust and mud are universal. Particularly bad are the Polish bridges, which have given rise to many proverbs, such as the following :

> A Polish bridge,
> A German lenten fast,
> An Italian church service—
> All these are humbug.

The village generally centres round the church, which is often a very fine edifice and, as in Ireland, a contrast to the mean buildings near it. There is also the village well, which is a prominent feature of the scenery. A long, heavy log, weighted at one end, is connected with the bucket by a strong, thin branch, the balance being so fine that the bucket can be easily lowered into or raised from the well. The cottage is always built of wood, with the joints dovetailed or bolted at the end. The roof is thatched with straw, and is generally very wide and quite overshadows the building. There is often a verandah, and there is always some sort of decoration in the form of paintings round the door and the windows, or ornamentation on the pillars of the verandah. Some of the better cottages look exceedingly neat, with geranium pots in the windows, and plenty of decoration all round the walls, though the general

effect of the dark logs is gloomy. Inside, there is always a large stove, a table, chairs, and generally a spinning wheel. There are pictures of saints on the walls, and many of the interesting Polish cut paper hangings, which are of ancient origin and display considerable artistic skill in their designs. There are also ornaments made of hay or straw wreathed into various patterns, and known in Polish as "spiders." The cottages always have a stable and barn adjacent, and generally a small garden behind them. Flocks of geese and pigs are usually tended by the children, who also look after the cattle and horses further afield. The horses usually have their legs hobbled, as there are few fences in Poland, hedges are unknown, and the wide plain is open to them. It is a common sight from the railway train to see these animals jumping clumsily about, followed by merry, gaily-dressed children, with wreaths of flowers in their hair and clad in the gay dresses of the country. The costume of the Polish peasant is very picturesque and of immense variety. It is different in each locality. The costumes of Lesser Poland are quite different from those of Poznania, which in their turn differ from those of Kujawia, Mázovia, Lowicz and other districts. Some of the colours are extraordinarily bright, a contrast to the monotonous gloom of the soil or the dazzling whiteness of the snow. The women's costume is bright but ungraceful, probably owing to the influence of the Church, always anxious to avoid any concession to the senses. The women carefully cover their heads with a kerchief. It is always possible to tell from a peasant's costume to what district he belongs. But in the neighbourhood of the towns the ordinary costume of Western Europe is beginning to oust the more picturesque traditional dress, while hats now appear on the heads of some of the women in every village group. The Jew is a common feature of the Polish village, and lives

quite happily with the peasants, as he has done for centuries. He is always extremely busy with money-making, and seems curiously alien among his peasant neighbours. The popular attitude towards him is more one of jocular contempt than of any national dislike. But the recent attempt to turn him out of the village has led to some friction. The common peasant cart is simply a plank on four wheels. Two long pieces of wood are joined to it by a number of short branches which form the sides. A long journey in this primitive, springless conveyance is agony for the uninitiated. The driver talks to the horse in the most affectionate way, and stops him with that extraordinary Slavonic sound—*tprrrr*!

The Polish village, whether in Prussia, Austria or Russia, has complete autonomy in theory—a revival under very different conditions of the wide self-government enjoyed by the Polish peasants before the days of serfdom. In the kingdom of Poland the Commune, in Polish *gmina*, consisting of a group of villages, became the unit of local administration in 1864. The members of the *gmina* elect their Mayor (*Wojt*) and his assistants (*soltys*) as the executive power, and they elect also the members of the local tribunal and other functionaries. The *gmina* manages its own property, makes roads, builds hospitals, controls the elementary schools, assesses taxes; and for all these activities the village Mayor is responsible to the village Assembly. Originally this local autonomy was perfectly free from control, because the Russian government intended the Commune to be a democratic bulwark against the Polish gentry. But when it became obvious that the peasants were just as patriotic as the other classes, Government interference began. The Polish Mayor, being often illiterate, was assisted by a clerk, who was nearly always a spy, or, at any rate, a mere tool in the hands of the

Russian governor of the district. When Russian became the official language in the administration of the Commune, the position of the clerk became all important, as he was the only official who knew Russian well, and could easily manipulate an assembly of bewildered peasants who could not speak Russian. A great struggle has taken place to defend the Communal institutions, the only remnant of autonomy existing in Russian Poland; and the gentry played a great part in rousing the peasants to a consciousness of their own strength. In Galicia, the Communes were naturally perfectly free, while in Prussian Poland they were autonomous, but suffered from considerable Government interference.

A complete revolution in peasant life has been accomplished in the last fifty years, chiefly owing to the devotion and self-sacrifice of some of the gentry and priests, but also owing to the adaptability of the peasants themselves. The movement was mainly educational rather than political. It involved, firstly, a great development of education among the peasants; secondly, a general raising of the material life of the peasant by improvements in agriculture and by a co-operative system of credit; and, thirdly, the organization of the peasants for national and political purposes. The educational movement is described in another section of this book, but some part of the wide educational activities among the peasants may be mentioned here. In Prussian Poland the great pioneer was Charles Marcinkowski, who founded the association called after him in 1841. From that time the peasants have made rapid strides in education, assisted by a large number of societies such as the Popular Reading Room Association, with 1750 libraries. The "Falcon" (*Sokol*) Society, a gymnastic society something like our Boy Scout movement, has spread all over Prussian Poland and Galicia, but has been forbidden in Russian Poland. Its widespread "nests" form im-

portant centres for physical and cultural training. In Galicia, where the peasants were most backward and almost entirely a passive instrument in the hands of the Austrian Government, the awakening came later, and was largely due to the labours of a priest named Stojalowski, who edited a paper for peasants, "The Bee," from 1882, and awoke the Galician peasant from his long lethargy. Assisted by some enlightened peasants, such as James Bojko, he first organized the peasants politically; and the Popular party was formed under his pupil Stapiński, and grew to be the largest political party in Galicia. The educational movement in Russian Poland developed later, and was more hampered by governmental restrictions. Its success was chiefly due to the work of Konrad Prószynski, son-in-law of Professor Korzon, in his paper, the "Holiday Gazette," and to the influence of another popular paper, "The Dawn," (*Zorze*).

The first "Agricultural Circle" was formed in Poznania in 1866 on the German model, and the movement rapidly spread all over German Poland. The Agricultural Circles were organized chiefly by Jackowski, an immensely popular and energetic worker among the peasants; and they soon formed a wide system of technical schools for the education of the peasants in agriculture. Stojalowski introduced them into Galicia; and much later they developed in Russian Poland and were united in a "Central Agricultural Association." There are also a number of Agricultural Circles organized by the Progressive parties, who attempted to steer clear of the influence of the priests. The number of Agricultural Circles in 1912 were as follows:

Poznania	388
West Prussia	117
Russian Poland	1200

The rise of Co-operative Credit Associations was largely due to the initiative of Wawrzyniak, and has been described in a special chapter (Chapter X.). Their development was hindered in Russian Poland till 1904, their place being taken by the Commercial Banks. To-day the numbers of such credit associations is enormous, and they form the basis of the agricultural system of Poland. Their numbers in 1912 were as follows:

	Number of Associations.	Membership.
Prussian Poland . .	197	121,875
Russian Poland . .	700	477,773
Austrian Poland . .	1382	288,551
Total . .	2279	888,199

These credit associations are, of course, for the artisan class as well as for agriculturists. The latter have also a number of other institutions, co-operative societies of production and consumption, peasant banks, and so forth. The great demand of the peasants is for more land, and numerous societies are occupied in buying large estates and parcelling them out to peasants. The general tendency is for the land to pass from the hands of the large landed proprietors into peasant hands. In fact a complete change has come over the Polish village in the last forty years, a raising of the cultural, economic and social standards of the whole community.

A typical instance of this transformation of village life came under the writer's notice in a village called Lisków, in the west of Russian Poland, formerly a type of the worst kind of Polish village, with an absentee squire, an aged priest, and where 87 per cent. of the people could neither read nor write. Some years ago a new priest was appointed, who at once set to work to improve social conditions, despite the strenuous opposi-

tion of the local Russian officials. He found the peasants in the hands of the Jewish usurers, who lent them money and possessed a complete monopoly of the local trade. So his first step was to found a co-operative shop. He induced thirty-five peasants to contribute 10 roubles each (£1). The first year there was a profit of 446 r. (25 per cent.) £44; the next year a loss of 600 r. (£60); and since then there has been a normal profit of 300-350 roubles (£30-£35) annually. Jewish trade has been driven from the village and usury is a thing of the past. In order to revive village industrial life, he founded a workshop for weaving, with the assistance of 100 roubles from the Warsaw "Society for encouraging Village Industries," which also lent him an instructor. From one workshop with an annual deficit of 260 r. (£26) it has expanded to twenty-two workshops with an annual profit of 28,000 r. (£2800), and the products are sold in Warsaw and other Polish cities, South Russia, and even the Caucasus. He next founded a sort of People's Palace at a cost of 2000 roubles. There was some difficulty in getting the funds, but now all the farmers but two support it. It contains a library, a shop, a savings bank with an annual turnover of £4000, and a school where 160 children have been educated. As Polish schools were forbidden, the usual informal type of secret school was used, and besides the central school, six branches have been formed in the district, with about 480 pupils, and they are also attended by illiterate adult peasants. The result of several years' work is that illiteracy has sunk from 87 per cent. to 27 per cent., and among the younger generation to 9.2 per cent.

The next step was to build Village Baths, with the financial assistance of the Warsaw Hygienic Society. To them were added a Laundry and a Co-operative Bakery. Then a foundling home for children, which was started with thirty boys from the Warsaw streets,

who have since become workmen in the weaving shops. Then the peasants themselves formed an Agricultural Society, under the control of the Central Agricultural Society of Warsaw. Various clubs were also formed, a fire-brigade and a village band. This is social organization of the best kind, and is only typical of what is taking place all over the country, especially in Galicia, where it is not checked, but encouraged by the Government. Ten years ago such an experiment would have excited great interest in the Polish community. Now it is regarded as a matter of course. Not only is the whole life of the village being transformed, but Poland is trying experiments in co-operation and education which are of general importance to the world, and she is setting an example of social organization that can serve as a model to all Europe. It is true there are many dangers and difficulties. The restrictions of hostile governments have greatly hampered the educational movement, and, in the Kingdom of Poland in particular, illiteracy is deplorably high. The demoralization of the Government system of spies has affected the whole community profoundly, and kept alive old animosities, suspicion and bitterness in the country as well as in the town. Old class hatreds survive, and new socialistic ideas, even where they have failed to gain any permanent hold on the community, have left unrest and dissatisfaction. But the general picture we get of the Polish village is one of stubborn striving, of advance, and of brilliant results. The peasant element is permeating the whole community. Polish peasants are taking a large place in art and literature, and have appeared in the Duma and the Reichstag. They formed a majority of the Polish deputies in the Galician Parliament; and to-day we see a new Polish Assembly consisting largely of peasants, well educated and completely conscious of their nationality, tenacious of their past traditions, and

well versed in the problems of their country to-day. Peasant life forms the theme of many of the modern masterpieces of Polish literature. The struggle against the German colonist is the subject of the greatest novel of Prus, "The Outpost." The poet Wyspiański introduces the peasant into his great drama "The Wedding," and finally Reymont, a peasant himself, has set forth the whole life of the village in his novel "Peasants," which is divided into four parts according to the seasons of the year, and depicts, with loving fidelity and realism, all the joys and sorrows of the daily life of the toiler in the fields.

We see, then, that Poland is a land of villages and country houses, of peasants and squires, whose widely different traditions are gradually converging towards a common social and economic life. The background to this life is the vast expanse of the Polish plain, from the lofty Tatras to the sand-dunes of the Baltic seaboard —a billowy, monotonous stretch of land broken by wide rivers, and rising only here and there to form higher plains. The Poles have no word for field in our limited meaning of the word. There are no small units of land surrounded by hedges. There is one vast field (*Pole*), from the Oder to the Dnieper, and different as it is to our idea of gorgeous natural scenery, the Polish country has a tremendous fascination to the lover of nature. The Pole loves the country intensely and profoundly, and has always sought to express this deep affection in literature. He was hampered by the limitations of the classical and artificial pastoral and idyll forms. But in the romantic movement he found at last his true *milieu*; and Mickiewicz has expressed this feeling in word pictures that reveal close observation, wonderful imagery, and a sense of natural beauty never surpassed, fully equal to that of Wordsworth and Shelley. The Polish landscape can best be described in the words

of the great poet who knew all its moods so intimately, and who has expressed them with such beauty and with such elemental simplicity and grandeur. The seasons in Poland are quite distinct, and do not merge into one another as in England. There is a cold winter of snow and frost, though the snow does not lie permanently as in Russia. Then spring comes with torrents of rain. The country is inundated with water and almost impassable mud. The vegetable life seems to spring up in a single night. Summer is scorchingly hot and dusty; and the stretches of brown earth yield to vast expanses of golden grain and greenery. Autumn is wet like spring, and the snow comes again with sudden violence. The names of the months in Polish are not copied from the dull numerical Latin names. The more musical names only, March and May, are preserved. April is the Flowering month, like the French revolutionary Floreal. July is the month of Limes, August of the Sickle. September is the month of Heather, November the Falling of the Leaves. These are but general landmarks in the Polish year. There are others more numerous that every visitor to the Polish country must remember and cherish. A winter's day when the whole earth is covered with a white garment of snow, unspeakably dazzling and brilliant. A drive over the vast silences of the plain with no sound but the jingling of the sleigh bells, when icicles hang from the horses' mouths, and their breath is a tangible presence in the still air. One can leave the radiant world of sun and space, and plunge into the sinister gloom of the forest, where the firs and pines stand silent and magnificent, tricked out in all their fanciful adornment of snow and ice: one can feel the whole world blotted out by a driving fury of snow. This is the winter mood of Poland. There is none of the gentle coquetry of an English winter, or the sinister menace of unspeakable temperatures that

one must face in Russia. It is winter, firm and sincere, yet friendly and beautiful. Then spring comes in suddenly, heralded by storm and flood—a prelude of tremendous stir and energy, when the world of growing, striving life beneath the brown muddy soil seems stirred as by some mighty Titanic hand, and torn from its wintry bed. The stork appears, and flits from roof to meadow in busy preoccupation with her family affairs, and the villager notices her unshapely nest of sticks and knows that the omens are good. When the stork has gone to rest, the frogs are heard. First a low moaning sound of doubt and apprehension, then a sharper note of answer. Finally, by midnight, every pond is in full cry. The peasants have many stories about the frogs. The first frog is said to begin in a low tone: "What's the news, what's the news?" He is answered: "The stork is dead, the stork is dead." Then gradually all the chorus takes up the cry: "Hurray, hurray!" (in Polish, *rada, rada*). The woods put on their spring robes of greenery, and shelter the goldfinch as she flits busily from branch to branch. There is a whole epic of flies, from the gentle picturesque clouds of May flies to the solitary malevolent horsefly of the later summer. But one waits eagerly for the lord of spring, the nightingale. His first hesitating notes are heard in some forest glade, and soon all the forests are musical with his love-making. Pleasant it is to sit in a Polish country house in a warm May evening after dinner, and talk over a cup of coffee with the thick cream that can be tasted only in Poland. The master of the house will tell some tale of ancient Polish chivalry, and his daughter will play, with delicate touch, a stately Polonaise of Chopin. But how wonderful when the window is open to the warm night air, and the room is filled with the heavy, bewitching scent of the lilac. As the sun goes down the peasant girls walk

across the horizon, in their bright red blouses, singing their sad folk melodies, in stately, proud procession. Then the nightingale will trill from some dark bush in the garden, as accompaniment to the peasant song or the Polish tale and music within.

The time comes when the forest is carpeted with wild berries in rich profusion, and many a merry picnic is arranged by the young folk of the mansion. Later on again, mushrooms, which abound in endless variety, form a pretext for many a happy expedition. There is the time when the honeysuckle flowers, and fills the country with a new scented magic, when the wild cherry begins to blossom, when the golden oriole pipes from the lofty trees, like our starling, but far more beautiful in his gilded finery. Most wonderful of all are the Polish trees, the birch with its velvety white bark and its tender green tracery of leaves in spring, and its long drooping tresses as summer draws on; the quivering aspen, the heavy scented lime in July, the stately rows of chestnut and beech, the monotonous woods of pine and fir, and the monarchs of the forest, the oak and the hornbeam. The writer remembers well a visit to the great forest of Bialowież, the greatest forest in Europe, called a jungle (*puszcza*) by the Poles. A railway journey from Warsaw, through Siedlce, takes one into wild country, and a long drive in a country cart brings the party well into the forest, just as the dusk is falling. Wild deer are to be seen in great numbers, and every now and then a wild boar shuffling through the undergrowth. The trees are of enormous size, especially the oaks and hornbeams, which soar straight up to a great height before the branches begin, and yield the best timber in Europe. The chief inhabitants of the forest are the White and Little Russian peasants, with their curious shoes of white birch-bark. There are also Lithuanians, and a number of Mazovian colonists from

Poland proper, who are the most intelligent members of this mixed community. The forest contains, besides deer and boar, many wild animals such as the lynx and beaver, and farther south, in the marshy region, the elk. But the monarch of the forest is the European bison, who has only survived here. The bisons have been carefully preserved by the Government, but they are dying out, and they are supposed to number only about 600 to-day. They were formerly hunted by the Polish kings, who used to visit this region for hunting the bigger game. There are magnificent descriptions of these forests in "Pan Tadeusz":

"Around them stretched the Lithuanian forests,
So full of beauty and of majesty!—
The cherry-trees, entwined with a wreath of wild hops,
The elder-berries with fresh pastoral blush,
The hazel, like a Mænad, with its green sceptres,
Decked with its pearls of nuts as with clusters of grapes.
And lower down, the children of the forest: the hawthorn in the lap of the elder,
The blackberry pressing her black lips to the raspberries.
Trees and bushes joined hands with their leaves,
Like youths and maidens standing ready for the dance
Around a wedded pair. Amid the company
Stands the pair, raised o'er all the forest throng
By graceful shape and charm of colour,
The white birch, the beloved, with her husband the hornbeam,
And farther off the elder folk seem to gaze on their sons and grandsons,
Sitting in silence; here the grave, grey beeches,
There the matronly poplars and, all bearded with moss,
The oak, bearing five centuries on his humped back.
He supports himself, as on the broken pillars of tombs,
On the petrified corpses of other oaks, his ancestors!" [1]

Besides the calm tranquillity of plain and the murmuring shadowland of the forests, there are the realms of the Polish sky, visible all round the horizon, with no

[1] See note on p. 113.

intervening hills. It has not the serenity and intensity of a southern sky, nor the flickleness and variability of our English climate, but it is full of change and beauty. Storms are sudden and fierce, snow-storms long and persistent, steady rain falls for three days together. The peasant longs for the snow, to cover his winter corn with a warm mantle and protect it from the frosts. He looks eagerly for the spring thaw and the gentler rain that will entice his spring corn to the sun; he awaits the hot sun that will ripen it. The seasons are regular, but are full of infinite variety. Mickiewicz has written wonderful pictures of cloudland:

"The Italian sky you speak of, so I've heard,
Is blue and clear, but like to frozen water.
Are not a hundred times more fair the wind and storm,
We need but raise our heads—how many sights to see!
How many scenes and pictures from the very play of clouds.
For every cloud is different: see, the spring cloud
Crawls like a lazy tortoise, heavy with showers,
Loosing as far as earth long dangling streamers,
Like unbound tresses—forming streams of rain.
See the hail-cloud: it swiftly flies along,
Balloon-like, with the wind that beareth it,
Round, dark blue, gleaming yellow in the centre,
With great uproar around it. Look again
Even the cloudlets white of every day, how changeable!
At first like to a flock of geese or swans,
While from behind the wind, like a falcon grim,
Drives them and herds them in a mighty throng.
They jostle, thicken and grow—fresh marvels now!
They get them crooked necks, shoot forth great manes,
Push forth great rows of legs and, over heaven's vault
Flit, like a herd of chargers over the steppe.
All silvery white, they mingle—suddenly
From out their necks grow masts, from out their names
Broad billowy sails: the herd is now a ship,
And sails along in pomp and majesty,
Silent and slow, o'er the blue plain of heaven."

Two more passages from Mickiewicz may be quoted in

conclusion, describing the evening calm before a storm and a sunset :

" The morning cloudlets, hitherto dispersed,
Like dark birds, flying to the loftiest part of heaven,
Now gathered more and more. Scarce had the sun declined
From noon, when one great flock of them spread out
And covered half the sky with one vast cloud.
The wind drove it more swiftly : and the cloud
Thickened the more, hung lower, till all one side,
Half torn from the sky, bent towards the earth and lay
Widely spread out, like to a mighty sail,
Gathering the winds, moving from South to West.
" Then for an instant, silence—all the air
Stays dumb in quiet and expectant awe.
The fields of corn, now brushing the earth and now
Swaying their golden ears again on high,
Murmuring like waves, now standing motionless,
Gaze at the lowering sky, with bristling stalks.
Willows and poplars green, along the roads,
Bowing erstwhile like mourners by a grave,
Swinging their lengthy arms and letting loose
Their silver spreading tresses to the winds,
Now, like dead things, with aspect of dumb grief,
Stand like the statue of Greek Niobe.
Only the aspen shakes its quivering leaves.
" Cattle that use to wander home so idly,
Rush now in throngs, wait not the shepherd's cry ;
They leave their pasture, hasten to the byre.
The bull uneasy now, with hoof and horn
Scrapes up the earth and scares the restless herd
With bellowings of ill-omen, while the cow
Raises her large eye skyward more and more,
Opens her mouth in wonder, and lows deeply.
The hog behind, fretting with champing teeth,
Follows reluctantly and steals
Many a sheaf of corn for his own store.
The birds are hidden, some beneath the thatch,
Some in the woods and deep beneath the grass.
Only the crows, flocking around the pools
Strut to and fro in great solemnity,
Turn their black beady eyes to the black clouds,
Protrude their tongues from out their broad, dry throats,

And spread their wings, waiting the drops of rain.
Yet even they foresee the storm's great might,
File off to the woods, like to the gathering cloud.
Last of the birds, proud of its matchless speed
The swallow cleaving the black cloud like an arrow,
Drops like a bullet."

"And now the Sun
Was drawing near the furthest bounds of the heavens,
Gleaming less brightly, but with wider sweep
Than in the day-time, like to a husbandman
With reddened cheeks, who, at the close of day,
His ploughing finished, homeward wends his way.
The radiant orb was sinking, lighting up
The summits of the forest, while a misty twilight,
Filling the tops and branches of the trees,
Bound all the forest trees one to another
And seemed to fuse the forest into one.
The wood grew black, like a huge edifice,
The sun was red above it like a fire.
Then sank the sun, still glittering through the branches,
Gleamed for an instant, like unto a candle
Seen through the chinks of shutters, then at last
Went out."

CHAPTER VIII

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

POLAND was formerly a purely agricultural country and produced large quantities of food not only for herself, but for export. From the decline of the Hanseatic League, and especially of the city of Novgorod, the Polish port of Dantzig exported to West Europe a great amount of raw material, especially timber from the great forests, and, above all, a great supply of corn from the large estates of the Polish gentry. But as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century there was practically no industry to speak of. Poland is still pre-eminently an agricultural country, and peasant proprietors form the largest part of the community. Moreover, there are great industrial enterprises all over Poland which depend directly on agriculture, such as distilleries, breweries and, above all, the sugar beet industry. But alongside these there have grown up in modern times a number of large capitalized industries which have quite revolutionized Poland, and have greatly enhanced her wealth. The rise of these industries was due to different circumstances, and took place under different conditions owing to the political divisions of the former Polish country. It is very difficult on this account to treat Polish industry as a whole, and equally difficult for the Polish people to make their new State an independent economic unit as well as a political entity. The rise of Polish industry is due, in the first place, to the great material resources

that exist all over Poland. It arose after the Partitions, and so its evolution is marked by a number of separate movements, unconnected and isolated in their nature, and closely bound up with the commercial evolution of Prussia, Austria, and Russia respectively. It will be most convenient then to describe first the natural resources of Poland, then to trace the evolution of separate industrial areas, and finally to sum up the general results of this evolution in view of the present revival of Poland as an independent economic unit.

The wide region described in Chapter I. is especially favoured in regard to mineral wealth, and all the elements of a general industrial development exist in the Polish plain. Coal, on which all industry is based, abounds in the Silesian Polish area, but this great coal-field is separated by political frontiers into three distinct parts, formerly in Germany, Austria and Russia respectively. The area of this coal-field is over 5600 square kilometres, and the deposits are rich and accessible, being found at no great depth. The coal is of good quality, but only that from the western part can be made into coke. The output of the coal-field, according to the statistics of 1911, was as follows:

Prussian Poland (Silesia)	36,622,969 tons
Austrian Poland . .	9,727,437 „
Kingdom of Poland .	5,769,928 „

This gives a total of 52,120,334 tons as compared with 41 million tons of output for France, and 255 million tons for Germany (including Silesia), which shows Poland to be one of the chief coal-mining countries in Europe.

After coal the most important product in Poland is oil. Petroleum is found in Galicia in the region of Boryslaw, on the northern side of the Carpathian mountains, from the river Raba to the Czeremosz.

The industry was only developed recently, and the output has risen from 650,000 quintals in 1885 to 17,660,000 quintals in 1910. There are about 5500 workmen employed in the industry, which, like all industrial enterprises in Galicia, suffers from lack of capital. Galicia has been also famous, ever since the twelfth century, for its salt mines. There are two Government mines at Wieliczka and Bochnia, near Cracow, and others in East Galicia. The mines of Wieliczka, formerly the property of the Polish State, are enormous in size and estimated to contain over twenty million tons of salt. Galicia produced in 1911 over 41 per cent. of the salt in the whole of Austria. But Galician industries all suffer from the neglect of the Austrian Government, which has kept a monopoly of the salt industry, and has always favoured Austrian mines at the expense of Galicia, which is an outlying province bound to Austria by a purely artificial political tie. Salt is also obtained in Kujawia at Inowraclaw, in Poznania, and in the west of Russian Poland. The total output of salt in Poland is as follows :

Galicia . . .	1,412,151 quintals
Poznania . . .	812,690 ,,
Kingdom of Poland . .	30,070 ,,

Besides ordinary salt, Galicia possesses the Kalusz mines of potassium salt, the only ones known besides those at Staasfurt in Germany.

Iron ore is found in Silesia and in the south-west of Russian Poland. But the ore is not rich in iron (20–35 per cent.), and Silesia imports an immense amount of iron from Sweden and Russia, while the industrial region of Russian Poland imports the excellent iron of South Russia. The output of iron ore before the War was as follows :

Silesia . . .	233,800 tons
Kingdom of Poland .	258,000 ,,
Galicia	18,800 ,,
Total	510,600 tons

Besides these four great mineral products, Poland is rich in zinc ore, Upper Silesia being one of the chief manufacturing districts for this metal; and both Russian Poland and Galicia have considerable zinc mines. Copper was formerly worked in the Kingdom of Poland, which is rich in copper ores. Of other minerals, marble, chalk and stone are plentiful and afford good building material.

In early days Poznania and West Prussia were the best organized parts of Poland from an industrial point of view. By the Partitions they lost their old markets in Eastern Poland, and were ruined by the hostile economic policy of the Prussian Government. In particular their great port, Dantzig, famous both as a free Hansa city and as an autonomous municipality under Poland, was now completely cut off from its hinterland, the Polish plain, and ruined partly by this political cause and also because the produce of Prussia went to the German port of Stettin, and all the ocean traffic to Bremen and Hamburg. It was long before industry revived in these provinces. But the protective tariffs and the bounties on exported wheat favoured the revival of trade, and especially of agriculture. Wheat, barley, oats and, above all, rye began to be exported in large quantities; and Poznania, cut off from its natural Polish markets, developed into the chief grain-producing province in Germany. But the bitter conflict between Poles and Germans, and the employment of all the machinery of the State in favour of the latter, has had a depressing effect on trade and

industrial organization. Industry has revived, it is true, but partly under German auspices. In Poznania itself, over 58 per cent. of the industrial enterprises are in the hands of Polish employers, the remainder being German. This industrial development centres in the large towns Poznań (Posen), Dantzig, Bromberg (which is the most German part of the province), and Elblong (Elbing). The greater part of the factories are dependent on agriculture, sugar refineries, distilleries and so forth.

In Silesia, on the other hand, a vast industrial centre has grown up, based on the Prussian part of the great coal-field. It has been organized, however, exclusively by Germans with German capital, and Upper Silesia is to-day one of the great German industrial regions. Most of the workmen are Poles, and the district forms a region solidly Polish from an ethnical point of view. Coal mining and the metallurgical industry are the chief features of the industrial area of Silesia. The district is quite cut off from the rest of Poland, and under German auspices has a world market. There are also large factories and shipbuilding yards at Dantzig, Bromberg and Poznań for the manufacture of locomotives, munitions of war and battleships, but they are mainly in German hands. The chief Polish industry is the manufacture of sugar from beetroot, in which Poznania is at the head of all Germany, the Polish provinces together possessing fifty sugar factories. There are also large distilleries:

Poznania	569
West Prussia	348
Silesia	924

Other large industries are the tobacco industry and the making of clothes, while a large export of timber from

Dantzig takes place, the logs being floated down the Vistula from all parts of Poland and Western Russia.

The Polish industries of Prussia are far more highly organized than those of Russia or Austria; and while the organization of the Silesian industry is purely in German hands, the Poles of Poznania and West Prussia deserve great credit for the skill and soundness of their industrial enterprises. The Polish labourer in Prussia is highly educated and efficient, and, above all, the peasantry have made enormous advances in scientific agriculture. So that Prussian Poland has become the most advanced community of Poles, and will take a leading place in the democracy of the new Polish State. Without Poznania Poland would have far less chance of competing with other industrial areas in economic organization and technical skill. The bitter competition with the Germans and the struggle to survive have developed here a new type of Pole, highly educated, efficient, hard-working and thrifty, as well as tenacious, stubborn and patriotic. There is no ground here for the old accusations so often brought against the Poles, of fickleness, frivolity and unproductivity. The Pole has learned by bitter experience from his neighbour, the German, and is able to compete with him despite all the Government support of his rivals. On equal terms he can drive out the Germans both in industry and in agriculture. Quite unused to the standards of efficiency of the progressive West, he has imitated German methods and has learned to beat the German at his own game.

The great weakness of the position of the Pole in Prussia formerly was his dependence on German finance, and the ruthless opposition of the German civil authorities and economic organisations, supported as they were by the whole wealth and might of the German Empire. This difficulty was manfully met by the Poles,

and overcome by the creation of an organized system of capital and credit on co-operative lines. The work done in Prussian Poland has been imitated in other parts of Poland. It is of such general national importance that it has been discussed in a separate chapter (see Chapter X.).

Galicia was the part of Poland which suffered most heavily by the Partitions. It was the most backward part of Poland in the eighteenth century, and during the age of Metternich suffered from repression, neglect and exploitation on the part of the Austrian Government. Not till the fall of the old régime and the commencement of the constitutional era in 1861 did Galicia begin to revive; and it found itself in a deplorable economic situation, with a wretched agricultural system, no factories, few railways and no schools. The work of fifty years of self-government has changed all this, and despite the difficulties of their economic position, the Poles of Galicia have laid the basis of a sound industrial system. But its isolation—cut off politically as it was from the rest of Poland, separated geographically by the Carpathians from Austria—has left Galicia the most backward part of the former Austrian Empire. It is to-day mainly an agricultural country. But even here Galicia is unable to produce enough corn to feed her dense population. She is compelled to import corn from Hungary instead of from the natural granary of Poland, Poznania and the Kingdom of Poland. Galicia was not only not helped by the Austrian Government, but her industrial development was actually impeded in favour of the agriculture of Hungary and the industries of Austria and Bohemia. So the textile industry of Galicia has declined and almost disappeared. The first sign of awakening in industrial enterprise was seen at the Agricultural Exhibition of Lemberg in 1877; and from that time various schemes for the utilization

of Galician resources have met with support and encouragement from the Galician Parliament. The pioneer in this movement was the patriotic Szczepanowski who, after the discovery of a means of distilling petroleum by the chemist Lukaszewicz in 1853, founded the great petroleum industry of Eastern Galicia. The mines, both of coal and salt, have been developed, but the reluctance of the Austrian Government to improve communications, especially canals, has greatly hampered the development of Galician trade. In the first decade of the twentieth century the factories of Galicia were almost doubled in number, and Galician industries have grown up in three regions: on the Silesian coal-field near Cracow, in the Drohobycz oil district and round the capital, Lemberg. To-day Galicia has over 4300 factories and mining establishments, with 106,000 workmen, the chief of them being the agricultural industries, mines, chemical industries, timber, pottery, textiles and machines. Besides these, cottage industries are of great importance. Economically, Galicia stands to lose nothing and to gain much by being detached from Austria and reunited to the rest of Poland. The Duchy of Cieszyn, part of Austrian Silesia, on the other hand, is one of the most industrialized parts of Poland, lying as it does on the Silesian coal-field, which yields excellent coal that can be made into coke. Out of a population of 434,820 persons, 80,298 are employed in industry and commerce; that is, nearly as many as in all Galicia. Silesian industry is highly capitalized, and comprises, besides mining establishments, a rich metal industry, together with textile, wood and chemical factories.

The Kingdom of Poland contains one of the great industrial areas of Europe, and the credit for its foundation rests with the Poles, since it first arose during the independent existence of the Kingdom of Poland

(1815–30). It owes its inception to two men, Staszyc, the great patriot and reformer (see Chapter III.), and Prince Xavier Lubecki, the Lithuanian-Polish financial genius, whose activities covered every department of economic life. He was Minister of Finance in the Kingdom of Poland from 1821 to 1830, during which period he successfully reduced the finances of the State to a prosperous condition, forming strong cash reserves and a sound credit balance. He also protected Polish commerce, and carried on a tariff war with Prussia for the export of Polish goods on the Vistula. He founded the great Society for Loans on Landed Security in 1825. He brought into existence a number of prosperous industrial enterprises, some of which have survived to our own day. But his greatest achievement was the foundation of the Bank of Poland in 1828. It was to the activities of this Bank that the success of the rising industries was due. The rise of Polish industry was the result of deliberate Government action, and was a resumption of the great national economic advance which we saw in the last days of the Polish State. The Ministers of the years 1815–30 were the young patriots and reformers of 1780–92. Staszyc, the indefatigable reformer, who believed there could be no State without a solid economic basis, led the way in the development of mining. All the materials for industry were to hand. There were abundant mineral resources, and there was labour. The emancipation of the peasants in 1807 had created an agrarian proletariate which gravitated to the towns, and became the basis of a Polish industrial class. But to create a capitalized industry out of these materials, two other factors were necessary—technical skill and capital. The former was obtained by a Government policy of inviting skilled workmen from abroad to settle in Poland. Large numbers of foreigners flocked to Poland between

1815 and 1830, both manufacturers and artisans, and they were given considerable privileges. German manufacturers founded the textile industries at Lodz. Geyer set up the first cotton spinning factory in Poland in 1827, and Philippe de Girard brought his new machine for cloth-making in 1835 to the town which is called after him, Żyrardów. But the fundamental factor in the rise of Polish industry was the Polish Bank, which started with a capital of thirty million florins, and, by its loans for long periods to industrial enterprises, contributed greatly to the success of the young industry and commerce of Poland. Moreover, the Bank did not confine itself to finance. It guided the whole mining industry, founded and worked most of the earlier factories, constructed roads and canals, and made possible the construction of the Warsaw-Vienna Railway in 1848. Unhappily its position as a bulwark of Polish national activity brought upon it the distrust of the Russian Government, and it ceased to exist in 1885.

The next stage in the industrial development of the Kingdom of Poland was the abolition, in 1850, of the Customs barrier between the Kingdom and the Russian Empire, an event of considerable significance to Poland. It threw open to Polish industry the great markets, not only of Russia, but of Siberia, Turkestan and the Caucasus, *i.e.* it gave Polish manufacturers, hitherto cut off from Dantzig and the sea and stifled by the competition of the more highly developed industries of Germany and Bohemia, a free field with little competition in what was practically a world market. There were, it is true, rivals to Polish industry in the areas of Moscow and the Don region, which were favoured by the Government at the expense of Poland; but the superior skill and efficiency of the Polish workman over the Russian compensated them for this. Three

fresh developments next affected Polish industry. The final emancipation of the peasants in 1864 gave a mass of fresh labour; the development of railway construction supplied transport for Polish goods; and finally the new Tariff policy of the Russian Government, in 1877, completely protected Polish and Russian manufacturers from foreign competition all over the Empire.

The industry of the Kingdom of Poland to-day is centred in three distinct areas. The first is based on the third part of the Silesian-Polish coal-field, in the southern part of the Province of Piotrków, containing the towns of Dombrowa, Sosnowiec and Bendzin, with an annual output of 5,800,000 tons of coal and most of the 258,000 tons of iron ore produced in the Kingdom. Secondly, the great central area in the Province of Piotrków, containing the districts of Lodz, Zgierz, Pabjanice and Tomaszów, contains the great textile industry, with cotton, wool and other mixed industries. Lodz, which was in 1820 a small village with 740 inhabitants, is now the second city of Poland, with over half a million inhabitants, and is proud to call itself the "Manchester" of Poland. The third industrial area is that of Warsaw, containing factories of all kinds, but especially of machines and metallurgy. West of Warsaw lies Żyrardów with its famous cloth industry. Besides these three great districts there are the agricultural industries all over the country. The sugar industry holds first place, with eighteen factories in the province of Warsaw, thirteen in that of Lublin, and seven in that of Plock. There are a large number of distilleries, chiefly in Lublin Province. Altogether there are in the Kingdom the following number of factories:

	Factories	Workmen
Textile industry	1,166	150,305
Agricultural industries	3,032	42,458
Metal industries	1,510	62,027
Mines	479	45,697
Clothes	1,918	25,438
Minerals, etc.	520	23,075
Chemical industries	264	9,153
Timber	879	17,259
Other industries	1,185	25,510
Total	10,953	400,922

The total value of the output in 1910 was £85,470,000.

The rise of the great industry of the Kingdom of Poland has been largely due to its close connexion with Russia, and has given the manufacturers of this, the largest part of Poland, a vested interest in the Russian connexion. This has considerably influenced Polish political thought in recent years, and strengthened the idea of a "Russian solution" of the Polish question. It has been seen how industry has been stifled under Austrian rule, despite the efforts of the Polish authorities and the granting of complete autonomy to Galicia. Any close connexion with the powerful and highly organized German State would tend still more to crush Polish industry. Within the Russian Empire the Poles had certain great advantages. First and foremost there were the enormous markets of the East. The connexion of Poland with these areas has become so close that Polish textile manufacturers have begun to grow their own cotton in Turkestan, though they are still dependent for the better qualities on Egyptian

and American cotton. With these enormous markets, and protected as they are by a high tariff wall, Polish manufacturers have had to face the competition of the Russian industrial areas only. Against these they were in a favourable position because of the higher education of the Polish workman, the greater technical skill of the expert, the higher organization of Polish industries, the greater development of the system of commercial travellers, and the earlier rise of Polish industry and the greater experience thereby gained. These advantages would not help them in a market where they would be compelled to compete, on equal terms, with the still higher standards and greater efficiency of German industry. But besides these advantages the Poles have had to face many difficulties, due partly to the backwardness and social demoralization of Russia as compared with Western Europe, and partly to the definite hostility of the Russian Government to all Polish enterprises that do not definitely add to the wealth of Russia as a whole. The facilities for transport are not only bad in Russia itself; but Poland has suffered immensely from the railway policy of Russia, for two reasons. The Russian Government has deliberately refrained from building railways in Poland, in order to favour the rising industries of Russia proper, and as part of the general system of neglect in a country that is politically hostile to Russia and regarded as a second-class part of the Empire. Secondly, Poland was unhappily an area of great strategic importance to Russia, and has suffered enormously from this fact. All the railways built in Poland have been chiefly strategical lines constructed with a view to resisting German invasion. And as it was the intention of Russia to evacuate most of Poland and to retire before a German army, this policy has

consisted in limiting the facilities for a German advance as much as possible. Thus Russia has maintained broad gauge lines east of the Vistula, so that the Germans would have only rolling stock of the narrow gauge size. Whereas a network of lines reach the Russian frontier on the German side, there are scarcely any railways at all on the Russian side, except the two main routes at Alexandrovo and Bendzin. No district has suffered more from this neglect than the Provinces of Plock and Lomża, just south of East Prussia, which are, as a result, among the most remote and isolated regions of Europe. The excellent canal system of Poland has also been neglected. The abolition of the Bank of Poland and the attempts, largely successful, to make Polish credit completely dependent on Petrograd, have been a great cause of weakness to Polish industry. Moreover, the great co-operative movement in Prussian Poland, though it has been imitated in the Kingdom, has not been so successful, owing to the backwardness in which the peasant is kept by contact with a less progressive civilization and with the weaker Russian system of education, especially deficient on the technical side. Just as contact and competition with Germans has stimulated and educated the Polish peasant, so the presence of the Russian element—and Russia always sent a very low type of official to Poland—has retarded and demoralized him. Further, the bulk of the retail trade of Russian Poland is in the hands of the Jewish population, which is too large here to be driven out by Polish competition, as it has been in Poznania. Lastly, there has been a large immigration of Germans into Russian Poland, a movement which the Russian Government has not opposed. It is only lately that German workmen have been superseded by Poles in the Lodz area, and the great industry is largely capitalized

by Germans, so much so that Prussia would find an easier task in ruling the Kingdom of Poland than she has had in Poznania.

It is obvious from this short account of Polish industries that there is a sound economic basis for the new Polish State that is appearing to-day. The main difficulties are those of readjustment, the detachment of Polish industrial area from the markets and commercial systems to which they have been bound by their connexion with Prussia, Austria and Russia. The new Polish State will be well supplied with all the material resources of nature, and with an abundant supply of labour; and it will find itself at the outset in possession of several highly organized industries. It will be based on the coal-field of Silesia, united for the first time since it has been worked. It will have, too, the great textile industries of Lodz and the mixed industries of Warsaw, possibly also the oilfields of Galicia. It will have a world market for its great agricultural industries, especially sugar; and it will have a great supply of raw material and grain for export. Poznania will be able to supply this great industrial area with corn. A Polish Government will be able once more to protect and develop its own industries, and to organize commerce both in the new home market and for export abroad. The chief new measures to be taken will be the reorganization of transport, a great development of canals, and a wide policy of railway construction. Poland will be of enormous international importance as a centre of transit from East to West. De Lesseps long ago foresaw the significance and geographical advantages of Warsaw, which will develop enormously as the centre of united Poland and as a great commercial centre for Eastern trade. Secondly, education will receive a great stimulus from Polish national feeling and the highly educated business men

of Poznania will be able to give their services to Poland as a whole, and to extend their system of co-operative credit, technical efficiency both in industry and agriculture, their thrift, industry and method to the more backward parts of Galicia and Russian Poland. The most important question of all is the problem of an outlet to the sea. Whatever the arguments from an ethnographical point of view, for the successful reunion of Poland as an economic entity, a free passage to the sea at Dantzig is essential. It is a matter of life and death to Polish commerce. Both Polish agriculture and Polish industry will be fundamentally influenced by the decision of the Congress of Versailles in this question. Before the rise of industry Dantzig exported chiefly grain, and its close connexion with Poland may be seen by the following figures:

In the year	1490	export of grain	24,500 tons
	1617	,,	289,000 ,,
	1871	,,	189,000 ,,
	1900	,,	180,000 ,,

These figures show the difference between the periods when Dantzig was a small Hansa city, when it was the sole port of independent Poland, and the recent age when, despite the great increase in population and agricultural science, its export is smaller than in the seventeenth century, owing to the existence of a political and commercial frontier between Prussia and the Kingdom of Poland, the rise of a rival port, Stettin, in Prussia, and the use of Libau for Polish exports from Russia. Free trade between all parts of Poland was guaranteed by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, but this promise was never kept, and considerable readjustments are necessary before Polish commerce can be organized as one whole. Several Polish financiers have foreseen

this, and proposals for a common economic policy have been made in recent years. The question was first mooted by Mr Glombiński, a former Finance Minister in the Austrian Government, and the subject was developed by Mr Żukowski, member for Piotrków in the Russian Duma. The problem presented many difficulties, as the internal trade of Poland has been dwarfed by the great volume of trade passing through Poland to other countries, and this disproportion is likely to continue. The Anglo-Indian Telegraph has already a station in Warsaw, and railway communication with India is certain to follow. The Siberian railway will certainly develop into a great link between China and Western Europe, and, though Poland will share in the advantages that her position on these routes gives her, the bulk of the goods passing through Warsaw will be foreign goods. The cosmopolitan wave thus introduced will tend to swamp the native element, and the first and most urgent problem for Polish commerce will be to cut itself free from its dependence on Berlin and Petrograd; and still more for Polish industry to become independent of German capital, since German capital in Poland, as in Russia, has always been associated with German commercial exploitation and political aggression. It is clear that a united Poland will have ample resources, both in men and capacity, to begin this task, but it will be a work of years, and depends on a slow process of education. A great obstacle will be the Jewish question, since the Jews are born financiers, naturally tend to be cosmopolitan in their attitude and to favour German rather than Polish interests. The Jewish question in the villages can be solved by the co-operative defensive methods already so successful in Poznania, but it is a far more difficult problem in commerce. There is no doubt that Poland, to emerge successfully from the present period of transition, will

require foreign help in the form of capital and of expert advice. She will need capital, both for State and municipal undertakings, the construction of railways, and to take the place of German capital in her industries. She will need expert assistance both in remodelling her industries, and especially in banking and commercial undertakings generally. Mr Żukowski maintained that such aid would best be obtained from Great Britain. There is plenty of capital in the hands of the Polish gentry, and the peasants of Poznania have shown how great are their resources. But these funds will not be lent without commercial security such as can best be given by English international financial organization and the experience and approved methods of English commerce, which alone can assist Poland to secure emancipation from German influence, still quite as dangerous to Polish commerce as it was formerly to Polish political unity. Moreover, Poland and Great Britain are supplementary to one another. Poland will require large quantities of manufactured goods, especially agricultural machinery, while Poland will be able in time to supply us, as she did in former centuries, with raw materials and foodstuffs, especially corn, sugar and timber. If Russia is to remain in its present state of disorder, we will be able to get the sugar we need from Poznania and Mazovia through Dantzig instead of from the Ukraine through Odessa. Not only will there be direct transit from British ports to Dantzig, but there will be unbroken water communication with Warsaw itself by the Vistula. Poland will form one economic whole united by the Vistula system. The severance of Polish industry from its Eastern markets will be compensated for by the increased demands of a larger and more progressive home market of twenty-five million people. Moreover, the setback to Russia owing to the present industrial chaos will give Polish

manufacturers a splendid opportunity to extend their sales all over Russia and to forestall Germany with some of her best customers. A gradual readjustment, such as took place in Alsace after 1870, will redress the balance, and Poland will be aided by those geographical and social advantages that make her naturally one economic whole.

CHAPTER IX

THE UKRAINE QUESTION

THE two great political questions in Poland are the problem of the Polish-German frontier in the west and the relations of the Poles to the nationalities of the vast region in the east, till recently forming the western part of the Russian Empire. The latter question, affecting as it does not only Poland, but the future of Europe as a whole, deserves separate treatment. It is a European problem of the first magnitude. Apart from the Baltic Provinces, which present a separate problem in which the Poles are not directly interested, this region contains three peoples —the Lithuanians, the White Russians and the Little Russians; and in numbers as well as importance the latter are far the most important, and have to-day, with German assistance, set up the independent State of the Ukraine. The roots of the present problem go deep into past history, when two separate States existed, Poland and Russia or, as it was then called, Rus (the very name is important as will be seen later). The difficulty began from the very earliest times, and owes its origin to the vague, indeterminate nature of the south-eastern frontier of Poland and to the lack of cohesion in the early Russian State. Early Rus consisted of a number of principalities, partly representing separate tribes speaking different dialects, only loosely bound together. They were all ruled by princes of one house, acknowledging the suzerainty of the Grand

Prince of Kiev. The boundary between Poland and the more westerly of these principalities, Volhynia and Galicia, was somewhere near the river Boh or Bug; but as the Slav languages and customs had not yet developed very wide differences between Poles and Russians, the Polish princes often drew under their influence the Russians of this region, who were nearer to them than to their nominal overlords in Kiev. Moreover, there were probably, even at this early date, considerable differences of dialect and custom between these Russians of Volhynia and the Russian colonists in the forest region of the north-east. Their common meeting-place, the principality of Kiev, was destined to disappear before the onslaughts of the nomads of the Steppe. Under the pressure of these nomads, especially the Polovtsy, there took place a gradual depopulation of the Kievan area; and the migration took two directions. One wave moved north-east into the forest area, where the Russian colonists slowly absorbed the local Finnish aborigines and formed a new nationality, the Great Russian or Muscovite stock. The other wave moved due west and swelled the Russian population of the Volhynian-Galician area, driving back the Poles farther west. This group probably absorbed foreign elements of the Turco-Tartar race, and developed a new nationality, the Little Russians.

We find, then, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that the centre of population and political power in Rus is no longer Kiev, but has passed to Suzdal and then to Moscow, in the north-eastern forest area, and to Vladimir in Volhynia, Halicz, Holm (Polish, *Chelm*), and finally Lemberg in the west. At this moment there falls on Rus, like a thunder-bolt, the great Tartar horde, which occupies all the Russian land and completes the ruin and depopulation of the district of Kiev, thus sundering Moscow from Western

Rus. About the same time the pagan tribes of the Lithuanian stock form a political union under Gedymin, and attack the scattered West Russian principalities, while Poland, now a united kingdom, annexes the principality of Halicz (to-day Eastern Galicia), to which she gives the name of Rus. Lithuania obtains all White Russia and the remaining lands of Western Rus, including Kiev, the inhabitants of which were glad enough to escape the rule of the Tartar Khans, and may be considered as having consented to the union. Thus a vast new Principality was created, which took its name from Lithuania, but which contained the majority of the West Russians, whose language remained predominant as against the more barbarous Lithuanian tongue.

It is perhaps useful to picture this whole region as a sort of vast Lotharingia, the middle kingdom between France and Germany, with Moscow, like Brandenburg, connected by race with the bulk of the inhabitants and rising up later to claim reunion with them; Poland, like France, a more civilized and powerful kingdom on the west, ready to annex what she could and to absorb by her great cultural attractions; and small ephemeral States rising up in the centre, like Lorraine or Burgundy in the west. The confused events of the fourteenth century, like the Partition of Verdun, result in a division of Eastern Europe into three States—Poland, Lithuania and Moscow—the middle State being neither by race nor religion nor geography a political entity. Poland, which had been hard pressed by German colonization on the Oder, is forced at this time to abandon Silesia and Pomerania, and begins to recompense herself in the east, where there is less resistance, at the expense of the Little Russian people. The extinction of her royal house in the male line leads to a dynastic union, by which the Prince of Lithuania becomes king

of Poland, and begins to rule over vast dominions which become more and more permeated by Polish civilization and even colonized from the central provinces of Poland. This State becomes a bulwark of Europe against the Turks, the Tartars and the backward Muscovites. The centre of the West Russian people is in Lemberg and, indirectly, in the Lithuanian capital Vilna; while the region of Kiev becomes the frontier against the Tartars—a wild, thinly-populated border district called the *Ukraine* or Marches. Finally, in 1569 Poland and Lithuania are formally united by the Union of Lublin, Poland taking over from Lithuania the whole of the South or Little Russian area. Thus the White Russians remain closely associated with Lithuania, while the Little Russians come directly under the Poles, by whom they are called the *Rusini* or, in Latin, *Rutheni*. But there remained one great barrier between the Poles and their new subjects. Whereas the pagan Lithuanians had accepted the Roman Catholic religion from the Poles, the Little Russians adhered obstinately to the Orthodox faith. After the Union the whole of the Ruthenian gentry soon came over to the Catholic faith and learned the Polish language, but the peasants remained Orthodox. The Poles then effect a compromise, and the Papacy consents to form a new Church, the United Catholic or Uniat Church, by which the clergy of Western Russia acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope over their Church, but are allowed to retain their own ceremonial and Slavonic language. This measure is passed at the Union of Brest in 1595, and it would seem as if a complete assimilation of the Little Russians by the Poles would follow. But the peasants continued to display extraordinary tenacity; many of them remained Orthodox and began to look elsewhere for support. They found it in an unexpected quarter.

We last spoke of Moscow as being submerged by the Tartar flood. She remained under the rule of the Tartars of the Golden Horde till 1480. But after that date she rapidly grew to be a strong united State, and, while Poland was annexing the Ukraine, the Grand Prince Ivan was adding immensely to his resources by the conquest of the whole of Eastern Russia. Rumours about Moscow begin to penetrate into Western Europe, and a German traveller announces that beyond *Rus*, in Poland, there is another *Rus* called Moscow. The princes of Moscow now begin to call themselves Cæsars or Tsars, and to claim both to represent the fallen Eastern Empire with its Orthodox traditions, and also to reunite the former lands of *Rus*. They begin definitely to claim that Moscow was, by race and by religious belief, the direct heir of Kievan *Rus*, which they regarded as *Russia Irredenta*, wrongfully seized by Poland. Thus two claimants existed to the Ukraine—Poland, which was in actual possession of the land, which had assimilated all the educated class and regarded her State as a triple federation of Poles, Lithuanians and Little Russians, formed by a voluntary union; and Moscow, with her new historical theory and her direct religious bond with the Little Russian peasants. These peasants themselves, long inarticulate, began now to express their own ideas. After the Union of Lublin a great colonizing movement from Poland to the south-east had begun. It was conducted by the Polish gentry, but they brought to their new estates a mass of peasants who were largely Little Russians. Kiev rose from her ruins, and the great black earth belt rapidly came under the plough and began to teem with life. It was a return of the men of *Rus* from the Carpathian region to their former settlements in the southern plain. But owing to the economic development of Poland the peasants had

now been bound to the soil, and there was a deep social antagonism between the squires and their peasant serfs. Moreover, under the influence of the counter-reformation the Jesuits were becoming all-powerful in Poland, and they attempted to convert the recalcitrant Orthodox peasants to Roman Catholicism. Lastly, the Jews had gained a strong position in Poland. They accompanied the settlers as middlemen, and gained the deep hatred of the Orthodox peasants by their methods of exploitation and usury. The peasants began to look about for support, and they found it in Moscow. But Moscow was too weak and backward to attack a great military power like Poland, so they sought help elsewhere and found it in the Cossacks. While the Ukraine was still a desolate border province, there had risen up along the banks of the Dneiper a number of frontier warriors who took the name of Cossacks, from a Tartar word meaning freebooter. A similar community arose on the river Don. But while the latter were Muscovites, the Cossacks of the Ukraine were chiefly Little Russians, though there were many Poles among them. Their chief occupation was to fight the Tartars; and the Polish Government used them as frontier guards. They were thus partly in Poland; but the more independent elements formed a free republic in the no-man's land between Poland and the Crimea, Orthodox by religion and containing the germ of a Little Russian national feeling. In 1648 they revolted against Poland, and brought in the Tartars. Their chief, Chmielnicki, declared himself Hetman of the Ukraine, and ruled for some years. But among the Cossacks themselves there was an aristocratic party which was strongly pro-Polish. So in 1654, by the Union of Pereyaslavl, the Hetman formed a free union of the Ukraine with Moscow, on condition that the Ukraine should preserve its autonomy. But

there was no place for autonomy under Moscow in the seventeenth century, and the scheme for an autonomous Ukraine did not succeed. In 1666 a settlement was made between Poland and Moscow, by which the Eastern Ukraine, with Kiev, fell to Moscow, and the western part remained under Poland. The Eastern Ukraine found Moscow a harder master than Poland, and under the Hetman Mazeppa revolted in 1709, but was defeated and became an integral part of Russia. The chief result of this union was that Moscow began to be called *Rossiya* or Russia, and to covet the remaining eastern Polish lands; while the Little Russian peasants began to spread farther east and colonize the southern border lands of Moscow.

The eighteenth century witnessed the decline of Poland, which resulted in the Partitions, whereby Russia obtained all Lithuania, White Russia and the Ukraine, with the exception of East Galicia, which fell to Austria. This event may be compared to the occupation of Alsace-Lorraine by Prussia in 1870, but it went further, in that Russia obtained a part of Poland itself. Under Russia Lithuania remained at first purely Polish, but attempts were made to Russianize the Ukraine, and the majority of the peasants reverted to the Orthodox faith. But Poland, though divided, was still a force to be reckoned with, and the nineteenth century saw a long struggle in Lithuania and the Ukraine between the Russian Government and the Poles. This struggle took the form of armed revolts in Poland (in 1830 and 1863), which spread all over Lithuania and the Ukraine; of religious persecution, which led to the abolition of the Uniat Church and the persecution of those Little Russians who refused to conform to Orthodoxy; and of a methodical attempt to extirpate the Polish language in the schools, law courts and administration.

The attempt of Russia to effect a compromise with the Poles failed because of the refusal of the Poles to give up their claim to the Ukraine and Lithuania, because of their adherence, in fact, to the ideal of the Union of Lublin. Thus the end of the century saw Polish influence weakened by persecution and confiscation, but still a force to be reckoned with, especially in Lithuania. The Western Ukraine was still in the main a land of Polish landowners, Jewish middlemen and Little Russian peasants. The Great Russian element, apart from officials and soldiers, was quite small.

But a new factor now arose to complicate the situation, namely the rise of national movements among the peasants themselves. The rise of Little Russian national feeling took place in two ways. There was a spontaneous development of the language, chiefly in the region of Kiev, which began to express itself in literature. The leading figure among a group of writers was the poet Shevchenko. At the same time a more artificial movement arose in Austria. The Austrian Minister, Metternich, in order to create an Anti-Polish element in Galicia, formed a Ruthenian party, which was soon joined by a number of enthusiasts who, later, began to call their group the Ukrainist Party. In these men the Austrian Government found useful supporters of the Hapsburg dynasty; and Eastern Galicia has often been called the "Tyrol of the East." The two movements soon coalesced, and formed a strong Little Russian or Ukrainist national movement, which spread all over Galicia and the southern provinces of Russia. It was equally hostile to the Russian Government and to the Poles. After the granting of constitutional liberty to Austria in 1867, Galicia became an autonomous province, and the Poles formed a party which supported the Government at Vienna, so that Austria

had no further need for its Ruthenian zealots. But they soon found a fresh supporter in Prussia, especially in the *Ostmarkverein*, which was delighted to use any weapon against its hereditary enemies the Poles, and was only too ready to keep hostility to Russia always simmering among the oppressed nationalities of the Western Provinces. A national movement also sprang up among the Lithuanians, which was bitterly anti-Polish, and found support among the Prussians, especially at Tilsit.

We can now summarize the Ukrainist question as it existed before the War of 1914. There are three points of view. The Ukrainists themselves claim to be the successors of Kievan *Rus*, the earliest Russian State. They trace their descent in many ways, from the princes of Galicia, through the voluntary union with Lithuania and then Poland. Owing to their oppression by Poland, they revolted, and became independent under Chmielnicki, and then formed a voluntary union with Moscow, the terms of which were broken by the latter. Thus they consider themselves as legally free to break off from Russia, as they had broken off from Poland. The Ukrainist party, which before the war consisted of a relatively small group of intellectuals, claimed to speak for the great mass of peasants, extending from the centre of Galicia to the Caucasus. There are many objections to their claim, but, with German support, they have been partially successful in making it good. The German victories of 1915–17 enabled them to set up an independent State, the Ukraine, out of Russian territory; but Germany was unable, in deference to the feelings of her ally Austria, to unite to it Eastern Galicia, the heart of the national movement. The Russian claim is that Moscow represented the original *Rus* from the time that the western provinces

came under Lithuania and Poland. By the Partitions of Poland, Russia obtained the whole region except Eastern Galicia, which she conquered in 1914, thereby completing her policy for the reunion of all the Russian lands. Russia claims that the Little Russian language is only a dialect of Russian, due to the influence of Polish during the four hundred years of Polish rule. Further, Russian liberals put forward an additional reason for union on the economic ground that North and South Russia supplement one another. The rich agricultural belt of the Ukraine is essential to Moscow for its food supply. Russia must also hold the industrial region on the Donets and the Black Sea coast, which is her best means of communication with Western Europe, since the Baltic is under German control. While the Ukrainists claim that there are over thirty million Little Russians, Great Russian statisticians utterly deny this, and give a far smaller number.

The Polish claim is partly historical and partly cultural. The Ukraine was Polish for four hundred years. Polish culture forms the only civilizing element there, and the whole of the gentry are Polish. In fact many of the greatest Poles, such as Kościuszko and Mickiewicz, are of Little Russian origin. The Poles agree with the Russians in regarding Little Russian as a dialect, and consider that a Little Russian, when he becomes educated, must become either a Russian, as Gogol and Korolenko did, or a Pole. The national movement they consider as representing the feeble, unreal product of a few intellectuals, supported by German intrigue, and involving a revival of a vicious Cossack tradition of anarchy and brigandage (*haydamak*). In fact the Ukrainist movement has had the strange result of drawing Poles and Russians together. It must be borne in

mind that before the War the bulk of the peasants of the Ukraine were indifferent to, if not completely ignorant of, the whole controversy. Some of them were quite content to be simply Russians; others, after much persecution, had remained staunchly Catholic (*i.e.* Polish). The Ukrainists of Galicia, not having suffered Russian persecution, have remained devoted adherents of the Uniat Church, which divides them from the mass of Little Russian peasants in Russia, who have been forced to become either definitely Orthodox or Catholic.

The War has brought no solution to the question. First Russia realized her ideal, and for some months all *Rus* was united under the House of Romanov. Then Germany was victorious, and set up an independent Ukraine under a party representing the more aristocratic element, the dictator being a lineal descendant of Skoropadski, the Hetman who succeeded Mazeppa. Then, after the fall of the Russian and German Empires in 1917–8, Poland once more rose from her ashes, and fought for Vilna against the Russians and for Lemberg against the Ukrainists. The Ukraine is in a state of chaos. No united Ukrainist body has appeared, except the peasant force of Petlura, who is hostile both to the Russian *Bolsheviks* and to the Poles. If any settlement is to be made it will either take the line of federation, which would entail a long political struggle, or of the independence of the Ukraine from both Russia and Poland, which seems almost impracticable. It is difficult to see any purely Polish or Russian solution of the question, and, moreover, the social revolution has cut across the national currents and left the Ukraine to be, what it had always been, a vast mass of peasants with little national consciousness, but with some latent elements of national feeling. Moreover, in the in-

dustrial region of the Eastern Ukraine the large influx of Great Russians and Jews has formed a cosmopolitan society, with no definite political leanings. The complicated question of the Ukraine admits of no immediate solution.

CHAPTER X

WORK AT THE FOUNDATIONS

OF all the activities of the Poles since the fall of the Polish State, there has been no achievement so brilliant, so solid and so fraught with such possibilities for the future of the nation, as the successful struggle of Poznania and West Prussia against the German Government. Polish history has been one long resistance to the grinding pressure of their Western neighbours, first to the great wave of colonization under the great Saxon and Swabian emperors, then to the Teutonic Order, and finally to the powerful State of Prussia. And it was Poznania that had to bear the brunt of the struggle, which became acute with the appearance of Frederick the Great, who succeeded not only in partitioning Poland and obtaining West Prussia for himself, but also in colonizing a great part of this region with German peasants. It was Prussian Poland which was in the greatest danger of assimilation in the ninteeenth century; and it was here that repression of the Polish nationality was most rigorous, most methodical and most successful. One national institution after another fell. Poznania lost its distinctive position and was incorporated in the Prussian monarchy. The German language took the place of Polish in the schools, the law courts and the administration. And what was more menacing still, the higher German civilization had a strong attraction for the Polish gentry, and some of the principal families succumbed to the

allurements of German society. There was still some hope for the future in the rising liberal movement which came to a head in 1848. But when this last spark of hope was extinguished, despair reigned in the hearts of the Polish gentry. German colonization had been so rapid and successful that almost half of Poznania was now German. Moreover, the victories of 1866 and 1870 put Germany completely under the thumb of Prussia, who gave her a new political philosophy of militarism and world power, and imbued her with the traditional Prussian attitude of hatred and scorn for everything Slavonic. The bitterness of racial antagonism was not alleviated by the fact that Russia, the only strong Slav power, not only did not support the Poles, but allowed Prussia to dictate to her a policy of Asiatic expansion, leaving all East Central Europe to the mercy of Germany. The internal condition of the Polish community itself was deplorable. The peasant was lazy, ignorant, poor, and had fallen into the clutches of the Jewish money-lender. He was quite ready to sell his miserable holding to a rapacious Government and to emigrate. There was practically no middle class, and consequently the towns were filled with Germans of the professional and artisan classes. The number of Poles was declining, while the Polish-speaking population of Silesia and East Prussia had long forgotten its nationality and was half assimilated. The literary movement of the 'forties, the political stir of ideas that remained from 1848, and an educational revival kept Polish feeling alive in the hearts of the gentry of Poznania, always the most capable and patriotic body in Poland. But a new world of industry and social organization had grown up round them in which the plodding, methodical, practical German of the middle class had found his natural *milieu*. After 1870 a more vigorous policy against the Poles was initiated by Otto von Bismarck,

who had steered Prussia into a powerful place in the world, and who now resolved to stamp out the last remnants of the Polish national tradition. A number of stunning blows fell on the Polish community. Realizing that the Polish peasant found a strong defender in the Catholic priesthood, Bismarck attacked that body in his famous *Kulturkampf* of 1873. The Association of the Eastern Marches (*Ostmarkverein*), founded in 1874 to forward German interests in East Central Europe, declared an implacable war on Polish nationality. The Polish language ceased to exist in Prussia except in the homes of the people. In 1886 the Colonization Commission was founded to buy land from Poles and settle it with German colonists, and was supported by all the financial and political forces of the Empire. Later on, various measures against building houses and against holding public meetings were passed as part of the great anti-Polish campaign. Finally, in 1908 the infamous Expropriation Bill was passed, which compelled all recalcitrant Poles to sell their land when called upon to do so, and this scandalous law was actually enforced in 1912. All the great German economic organizations, especially the agricultural Associations, were brought into the field to support the German colonists and assimilate the Polish element.

It would seem strange that such measures were needed to crush an enemy so weak and defenceless, to overcome people whom the Germans regarded as inferiors and barbarians, whose business capacity was proverbial to Germany in the contemptuous phrase *polnische wirtschaft*. It seemed to require a quite excessive effort to crush the Polish butterfly under the mighty German wheel. The fact was the butterfly was undergoing a strange transformation. One great advantage the Poles of Poznania possessed. In contrast to their brothers over the border, who were subject to all the

demoralization of contact with a more backward and primitive civilization, the Western Poles were in close touch with the high economic organization of Germany. They began to learn from their oppressors and to imitate their methods, haltingly at first, but with gathering confidence. They had all the benefits of a high civilization—roads, railroads, good houses and sanitation; and they had access to schools where, if the language was a foreign one, at least knowledge was accessible. This was some compensation for their gloomy political position, and they proceeded to take advantage of it. They began to copy the institutions of their neighbours, and to form Agricultural Circles on the German model. A small group of enlightened patriots began to take control of the movement. The great weakness of the Poles was their dependence on German capital and the Jewish money-lender. Furthermore, the urgent necessity of forming an educated middle class of artisans, small traders and professional men to combat the Germans in the towns became more and more obvious. The Landed Credit Association was reformed in 1857 and 1879, and began to meet the needs of the larger agriculturalists, but it was the formation of small Agricultural Circles which first educated the peasants up to their great task. A network of these societies soon spread over Poznania and West Prussia, and their success is mainly due to the indefatigable labours of Maximilian Jackowski. They became schools for the education of the peasants in all matters connected with agriculture. The Polish peasants were roused from their lethargy, and began to improve both their agricultural technique and their social conditions. But the hardest problem lay in the towns, and here the very success of German colonization helped the Poles. It had resulted in a great movement of dispossessed landowners to the towns where they were ruled out of

all Government service by the anti-Polish attitude of the authorities. They began to take to trade, and only required capital to find employment in the growing commerce of the country. Such capital was found in the development of co-operative societies on the Schulze-Delitsch model. All these movements coalesced in a common, widespread revival among the Poles to resist the German penetration of their country. But they were at first sporadic, scattered and conducted by amateurs without method or efficiency. Leaders were wanted, with a talent for organization on a larger scale. Such leaders were found; and finally a great man appeared in Peter Wawrzyniak (pronounced *Vavjýniak*). This eminent man was born at Wyrzec in 1849 of a peasant family. He studied at the *gymnasium* of Śrem, and in 1868 entered the Theological Seminary of Poznań. In 1872 he was ordained as a Catholic priest, and returned to Śrem, where he lived for twenty-five years. He began to work at social and economic organization, and devoted his talents at first to the Śrem Commercial Society. He at once saw the need of financial support for the struggling middle class, and founded a Co-operative Credit Society in Śrem, which brought him into touch with the co-operative credit movement in general. This movement was just then beginning to assume far wider proportions. The leaders of the movement met at a congress and resolved to form a union of existing societies, with a view to common action and a common policy. The Union of Co-operative Societies, formed in 1871 and comprising the thirty existing societies, was placed under the control of one man, to be known as the Patron. This office was held from 1872 till 1891 by Father Szamarzewski. Wawryzniak now came into touch with this eminent leader, and immediately met from him a sympathetic response to his view that the uplifting of the moral and spiritual level of

Polish life must be based on an improvement in its economic position. This point of view explains the great part played in the movement by the clergy. Wawryzniak was soon nominated a member of the Directorate of the Union, then Vice-Patron, and finally he was Patron from 1891 till his death in 1910. It is from his advent to the Union that a broad progressive policy begins, and the success of the Union is largely due to his genius. He did not initiate the institutions of Poznania. He found already a network of educational institutions. The spread of Agricultural Circles was the work of Jackowski. There were already a number of Co-operative Credit Societies with a common centre in the Union. But there was a lack of talent in the direction of these institutions, of financial ability, and of that confidence which could alone persuade the small capitalist to circulate his money. In Wawryzniak the community found a man with the financial ability both to organize and to direct, a deep thinker with a concrete policy of development and centralization, a genius with faith in himself and confidence in the strength of the Polish community to compete with the German element and to emancipate itself from the strangling grip of German capital and the Jewish money-lender. His work may be divided into several parts. The first was the development of Credit Associations. There were thirty of these when the Union was founded, and the number had risen to seventy-one when Wawryzniak became Patron of the Union. He began by founding a model Association in his own village of Śrem. From the moment of his succession to the Patronate the numbers grew rapidly, so that their wealth enabled them to grant good salaries to their officials. The Patron was gradually founding a school of financiers and bank clerks; and a career was opened to the youth of Poznania, debarred from all German administrative posts—a career that was

FATHER PETER WAWRZYNIAK

both patriotic and remunerative. Under these new experts the Associations grew in numbers and efficiency, and flourished. By 1912 their numbers had reached 197, with a membership of 121,875. When the Patron died in 1910 these Associations possessed shares of the value of nearly twenty-two million marks, their reserve funds amounted to over ten million marks, and deposits to 177,333,297 marks. Although the Poles still had shares in German institutions, the bulk of their capital was deposited in these purely Polish Associations, and this network of organizations covered all Poznania and West Prussia, thus freeing the Polish community from its dependence on German capital.

Secondly, Wawryzniak believed implicitly in centralization, both for the co-ordination of the Associations for work on a common plan and to form a body strong enough to compete with the great German financial institutions. He resisted several attempts at decentralization, especially in 1889–90, when a project to divide the Union into three parts threatened the stability of the whole fabric that was being slowly built up. Wawryzniak successfully opposed this project, and in 1891 became Patron of a united organization, the activities of which he controlled and guided almost despotically for the next nineteen years. The greatest work of Wawryzniak was the foundation and direction of the Bank of the Union. He was a financial genius of the first order, and had learned not only the theory of economics, but its practice, chiefly from his German rivals, but also during his travels in almost all the countries of Western Europe and the United States of America. He founded a Bank in 1886, of which he became the Curator, and which he used as a central point for the work of the Union and the whole system of credit that he had built up. The Bank was founded, with its headquarters in Poznań, to be the basis of the

system of credit for all the Associations of the Union. It began with the modest capital of 40,000 marks. Its relations with the Associations were to be as follows:

1. Every Association was to submit to periodic "revisions" by the Directors of the Bank.

2. Every Association was to possess shares in the Bank amounting to at least a twentieth part of any loan asked for from the Bank.

3. The Bank was to grant loans to any Association up to the amount of half the assets of that Association (shares and reserve fund).

4. Associations belonging to the Union were to receive 4 per cent. interest on their deposits with the Bank, and to pay 5 per cent. for loans from the Bank. Associations not belonging to the Union were to receive 3½ per cent. on their deposits, and pay 6 per cent. for their loans. This rule attracted outside Associations into the Union, and strengthened the centralizing tendencies of the Polish societies.

The first two years of the Bank were years of struggle, and success was only possible by the patriotism of the Directors, who drew no salaries. It gradually emerged from this critical period and became an established institution. The Associations began to co-operate with it with more confidence, and the Curator and his small band of experts found themselves able to show a good balance-sheet. By 1900 the Bank was a prosperous financial institution, and the figures for 1910 were as follows:

Capital	6,000,000 marks
Reserve funds	1,347,875 „
Capital deposited by Associations and private persons	32,862,840 „
Loans	32,963,509 „
General Turnover	637,682,664 „
Dividend	6 per cent.

The Associations, now assisted by the Bank, were equally prosperous, and in 1912 there were 197 of them in the Union. Moreover, other bodies for other purposes had been formed and likewise attracted to the Union, so that in 1912 the Union was composed as follows:

Co-operative Credit Associations . . .	197
Societies for land division	24
Agricultural Co-operative Societies . .	56
Societies of Consumption and Production .	10
Total Societies .	287

The chief feature of the Polish Co-operative Credit Associations is the prudence with which they are managed, which is the hall-mark stamped on them by the genius of the Patron. Their debts in banks are exceedingly small, and their reserve funds are large. The secret of their financial success is the complete support they have from all classes of the community. Of the members of the Associations over 67 per cent. are occupied in agriculture and over 20 per cent. in industrial enterprises, so that the savings of the whole community are circulated. But, above all, their success is due to the great controlling power invested in a Patron in whom the Polish community had the fullest confidence, both as a financier and as a moral and national leader of the community, and in the large band of experts whom he had trained in his principles. The general result of this movement was that, alongside the political organization of Prussian Poland, there grew up a strong economic organization with its roots deep in the Polish community and able to hold its own against the Germans, even though the Government threw all the weight of its power in support of the German element. Wawrzyniak's acute mind grasped the essential factors in the

situation, and he saw at once that the German Government could not attack economic bodies of a type that the Government had itself created. His whole policy was to keep away from politics; and throughout his career as Patron he successfully steered the Union clear of all political connexions. Further, his actions were distinguished for their consistent legality. His deliberate aim was to live on good terms with the authorities and give them no chance for interfering with his schemes. He knew all the intricacies of the German laws, and never undertook a new project without carefully considering whether it would give the Government a loophole for interference. He looked at facts as they were, and resolved to start his ideals for Polish society on the low level of Polish economic life as he found it and in the limited field left open by German repression. Every measure undertaken was to be, to quote his own expression, "in order"—*i.e.* it was neither to contravene any existing law nor to give the Government a pretext for new legislation. He did not withhold his support of Polish political institutions, but he kept his economic work strictly apart from them. One of the greatest German students of the Polish question, Bernhard, wrote that "the Union of Co-operative Associations would long ago have been shattered by political trials, if it had occupied itself in the least with politics." During the Patronate of Wawrzyniak the Union never confounded the interests of the Associations with political questions.

Secondly, Wawrzyniak founded a school of experts in financial and economic affairs, a band of business directors and administrators—a class in which Poland has always been weak. He educated peasants and artisans in the local Associations, and he drew numbers of the gentry and professional class into this new well-paid and patriotic career that he opened up for them.

He created a new class of routine officials who would play an important part in the future of Poland. All the German qualities of method, efficiency and scientific management were imitated by the Poles, who were soon able to compete with their rivals on equal terms. It has been claimed by German critics that Wawrzyniak invented nothing new. And that was exactly his genius, that he did not scorn to imitate what was good or useful to his main scheme, whether it was German or foreign or native to Poland. He used whatever instrument came to hand to make the machine more efficient. But some of his ideas were completely his own, for instance the tenure of the offices of Patron and Curator of the Bank by the same man.

The social aspect of his work was fully as important as the economic. His work made possible the growth of a Polish middle class of merchants and artisans; and soon the towns were repeopled by Poles who could compete with the Germans in every branch of trade and industry. One result of this movement was the elimination of the Jew as middleman, factor and usurer. Without *pogrom* or boycott the Jewish population was steadily reduced in numbers and influence, until the Jewish element was either assimilated by the Germans or Poles, or forced to emigrate. The Jewish population of Berlin grew in proportion as it decreased in Poznania, where it was a parasitical and serious danger to the Polish community. Again, with the rise of the peasant and artisan to comparative wealth and culture, the wide gulf between the lower and upper class was bridged. Wawrzyniak was of peasant stock, and he had a considerable prejudice against the gentry who had so long neglected the lower classes. But he was ready to co-operate with all classes in his great work, with gentleman, peasant, and with Jew alike. He had no abiding feeling of class distinctions; he was neither

an anti-Semite nor a Socialist. His work resulted in the complete democratization of the Polish community, so much so that the different classes were welded into one whole, not only in the economic sphere, but in the political sphere as well. There are to-day nominal party distinctions in Prussian Poland, but there is an entire absence of the bitterness that marks political and social divisions elsewhere in Poland, and there was no more united body than the Polish Committee in the German Reichstag, where landowner, peasant and workman fought side by side for the common cause. The lower classes of Poznania awoke from their lethargy, and by co-operation and education made themselves a most important element in the Polish nation. Material prosperity and patriotic feeling made them a bulwark against both the Imperialism of the German Junker and the socialism of the German workman. Thrift, industry and patriotism became the distinctive qualities of the Polish artisan and peasant—a vast change from the squalor and ignorance of the previous generation. No movement in modern Poland has contributed more to the future greatness of the nation than this social evolution in Poznania and West Prussia, and it received an unexpected reinforcement by the reawakening to mutual consciousness of the million Poles of Silesia, chiefly as a result of the *Kulturkampf*. Moreover, its results were fully appreciated over the border; and agricultural and credit Associations were founded both in Russian Poland and Galicia on the model of the institutions of Poznania. The regeneration of the Polish peasant and his full incorporation in the Polish nation is a phenomenon visible in all parts of Poland, but nowhere was it so rapid or so complete as in Poznania and West Prussia. And with it the name of Father Wawrzyniak will always be associated; and he has become famous all over Poland. His presence gave

confidence to any meeting. His approval was the hall-mark on every project. His lofty character was a tower of strength in the economic struggle for existence of the Polish labourer. His financial genius organized the resources of the community, and his influence ensured the survival of the machine he had created. He was a man of few words, but when he did speak his words were practical and to the point. "The social building cannot be built from the towers or the ornaments of the roof," he said, "but from the foundations." What a revolution from the political romanticism of the early nineteenth century! The plotting of the patriot, the glowing visions of the political speaker, nay, even the beautiful dreams of the poet and painter, the harmonies of Chopin himself—all these were vain without the material prosperity of a contented peasantry. To seek a parallel to Wawrzyniak in Polish life we have to go back to Staszyc to find a reformer whose work was equally solid and practical. But a great part of the work of the early reformers fell with the Partition of the Polish State. Wawrzyniak built on more modest but firmer foundations, and his work survives for ever in the solidarity of the Polish community of Prussia. Great Poland raised itself both materially and intellectually, and gained the strength to devote itself to intellectual culture, to Poland generally and to humanity. There was little room for art or literature during the struggle, and Poznania has often been reproached both by Poles and foreigners for its sterility in these fields. There were poets and novelists born in Prussian Poland, but they found little field there for their activities, and migrated to Cracow or Warsaw. The intensity of the economic struggle in the last four decades has given Great Poland no time for the amenities of life. The foundations were being well and truly laid. The minarets and ornaments could be added later.

Wawrzyniak devoted his life mainly to the organization of the Credit Associations. But he also touched almost every side of Polish economic life, and was a member of almost all the societies of Poznania. He organized and schemed, wrote and lectured. But in his multifarious activities he did not neglect his religious work. He remained all the time a parish priest, and occupied himself with the more peaceful activities of the pulpit and the spiritual welfare of the cottager. He was a self-educated man, but his travels and his tastes had given him a wide acquaintance with art and literature and with the history and politics of all countries. He died prematurely in 1910, but he lived to see the success of his life's work, to see a Poznania once more Polish, with a prosperous and contented peasantry and a strong middle class, among whom national consciousness was widely diffused; and to see that material prosperity had laid the basis of moral and intellectual progress. He lived to see Poznania become the most advanced and strongest community in all Poland, with "wealth in widest commonalty spread." He lived to see the spectre of German assimilation exorcised. He did not live to see the revival of a united Polish State, but he was the chief founder of the movement that was to ensure the prosperity of such a State. He saw the rise of German Imperialism. He did not live to see its fall. But while other men in other countries were struggling in trade and industry, with armies and with pamphlets, to combat the growing world power of Germany, no one was more successful in opposing it than this unknown priest in Germany itself. Otto von Bismarck was able to crush Denmark, Austria-Hungary and France, but he found in a humble Polish peasant a stout opponent whom he could not crush. Wawrzyniak founded a tradition, he constructed a machine, he transformed a community. His work revolutionized Prussian Poland,

it enormously enhanced the strength of the Polish people as a whole, and it was a model of self-help for all the world. He has a considerable place in European social history, but above all he was a great citizen of Poland.

CHAPTER XI

THE CAPITAL CITY

POLAND has had a number of capitals corresponding to various successive phases in the expansion of the Polish State. During the predominance of Great Poland the capital was at Poznań (German, *Posen*), though Gniezno (German, *Gnesen*) has remained the ecclesiastical centre of Poland down to our own day. With the shifting of political power to Lesser Poland, owing to the German advance on the Oder, Cracow (Polish, *Kraków*) becomes the capital. With its ancient university and its position on the eastern trade route, Cracow rapidly grew to be one of the greatest cities in Europe, and still remains the centre of Polish science and art. But the Union of Poland with Lithuania necessitated a further change. A more central capital was needed, and as the two meeting-places for their joint Parliament the Poles and Lithuanians settled on Warsaw and Grodno respectively. This necessitated the presence of the royal court periodically in Warsaw. The magnates began to build palaces there; and it soon became recognized as the capital of Poland.

Warsaw (Polish, *Warszawa*) was originally a small village in Mazovia, the most remote and isolated principality of the Polish State, which was only united to the Crown in 1526. It was not even the capital of Mazovia, but gradually superseded Czersk, higher up the river, the ancient seat of the Mazovian princes.

But once the kings of Poland had finally adopted Warsaw as their capital, it came rapidly to the front among Polish cities, owing to its magnificent geographical and strategical advantages. Warsaw is situated on the west bank of the Vistula, and is the centre of the great river system of Poland. It is about half-way between Cracow on the Upper Vistula and Dantzig at its mouth. The Vistula is connected by canals with the Oder system on the west. Its tributaries, the Bug and Narew, are connected by canals with the Niemen basin in Lithuania, and with the Dnieper basin in the Ukraine. As the great export trade of Poland flowed through Dantzig, Warsaw soon gained a pre-eminent position as a collecting and distributing centre for corn and timber from all over Poland. After the Partitions of Poland this position was to some extent lost, since Warsaw was cut off from Cracow and Dantzig by political frontiers and tariff walls. But two new factors served to rehabilitate the Polish capital after it came under the Tsar of Russia. Firstly, the rise of the great industries of Russian Poland, and, secondly, the rapid growth of railways. The Warsaw-Vienna railway was built in 1848, and soon Warsaw became the centre of a network of important railway lines and one of the chief junctions in Europe. It lies on the main line from Berlin to Moscow and the Far East, to Odessa, to Kiev, Rostov and the Caucasus. Railways spread from Warsaw north to Prussia, north-east to Petrograd, west to Lodz, Kalisz and Poznań, and south-east up the valley of the Vistula. Warsaw is to-day one of the centres of a great industrial region, and manufactures machinery and other goods for a wide area, including most of the former Russian Empire. It is also the chief market for a great agricultural district, and the centre of a wide forest area, from which timber passes down the Vistula to the Baltic. The position of Warsaw,

half-way between the Russian and German plains, has given it immense military importance. Few cities have a more absorbing military history in modern times. It was the scene of much fighting in the days of Polish independence. It was defended by Kościuszko in 1794, and captured by Suvorov. It was stubbornly defended during the Polish revolution of 1830, and then captured by Paskevich. It was Napoleon's headquarters after Jena, and before his Moscow expedition. Finally, it became the centre of the Russian system of defence against Germany, and after resisting Hindenburg's two great advances in 1914–15, it fell to the Germans in July 1915. Few cities have seen more great captains at the head of armies. Warsaw welcomed John Zamoyski after his capture of Maximilian of Austria, Chodkiewicz returning from his Swedish and Turkish victories, Żólkiewski with his illustrious prisoner the Tsar of Moscow in chains, John Sobieski after his great victory at Vienna, Charles XII. of Sweden, Peter the Great, Kościuszko, Suvorov, Napoleon with his brilliant group of Marshals, and Alexander I. with the Russian heroes of 1812. Finally, Hindenburg, Mackensen, the Grand Duke Nicholas, Alexeyev and Ruzsky entered Warsaw, and at last another Polish general, Pilsudski.

Warsaw is situated on a long, low ridge on the west bank of the Vistula, which is here a noble river some 500–600 yards in width. On the plain across the river lies the suburb of Praga, a squalid town where the Moscow and Petrograd railways start. Warsaw was originally a small village, which took its name from a family of Czech immigrants who settled there and gave the name of their own capital, Praga, to the suburb across the river. The two towns are connected by an iron bridge, at the Warsaw end of which is situated the central part of the city: the Old Town (*Stare Miasto*), the Cathedral and the Castle, and, hidden out of sight,

THE CATHEDRAL

THE TOWN HALL AND MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS

WARSAW

the modern Russian citadel, from which Nicholas I. threatened to destroy Warsaw. From the Castle Square, the main thoroughfare of Warsaw, the Cracow Street and New World, runs parallel to the river, and finally opens out into the Ujazdów Boulevard. A second main road, the Marshals' Street, runs parallel with it farther west; and these two wide streets, with their magnificent buildings, their tramways and their shops, together with the streets, such as the Jerusalem Boulevard, which connect them, form the modern part of the city. Some way from them are the Saxon Palace and Gardens, and the Theatre Square, containing the Town Hall and the Grand Theatre. Starting from the Old Town, and stretching north-west, is the Jewish quarter. These, together with a great number of suburbs, inhabited by the poorer part of the population, constitute the great city of Warsaw.

Before the War the representatives of the supreme power in the city were the Russians. Their numbers were relatively small. There were high officials, schoolmasters, and others, mostly career-seekers recruited from all over Russia, who received special privileges for such work "on the frontiers." They were drawn from the lower elements of the Russian educated class, and showed the bureaucratic system at its worst. Many of the higher posts were held by Russian Germans, who possessed all the German hatred and contempt for the Poles, and were pure Germans at heart, with a thin veneer of Russian culture. During the writer's residence in Warsaw, it was ruled by men with such non-Russian names as Skalon, Korff, Essen, Meyer and Herschelmann. Secondly, there was the army.* It was the policy of the Government to distribute its troops on the system of *Divide et impera.* Thus most of the Poles were stationed in remote parts like the Caucasus. Warsaw was garrisoned by Great Russians,

Little Russians, who were naturally hostile to Poland, and Cossacks. The picturesque Kuban Cossacks, with their Caucasian costume, their fur caps and long daggers, could be seen every day performing their exercises and their famous equestrian feats in the Castle grounds. Cossacks of the Don and the Ural were also stationed in Warsaw, and were expert in clearing the streets with their brutal *nagaikas* or weighted whips. A charge in front of the Town Hall, in 1905, where many Poles were killed, had made them notorious, and left an indelible hatred in the minds of the Poles. Then there were Russian students, who also received privileges which attracted them to Warsaw, especially to the University, which was boycotted by the Poles. A good deal of the demoralization of society in Warsaw was due to the presence of these students, often recruited from the more barbarous races in the Empire—"Kalmucks," they were often called by the Poles. Russian civilization was also visible in the golden cupolas of the Orthodox churches. A beautiful Polish building, the Palace of Staszyc, designed for scientific studies, had been transformed into a Russian school, with an absurdly incongruous cupola on top. There were two other Orthodox churches, and in one of the big squares a Russian cathedral (*Sobor*) had recently been built. The policy of the rulers was to give the city the appearance of a Russian town, and to eliminate all relics of its Polish past.

But this Russian population was purely official, and relatively insignificant. The bulk of the population is Polish and Jewish. The Jews form about a third of the population, numbering over 300,000. Though a large number of Jews have been assimilated by the Poles, the bulk of them are still quite separate, and form a distinct community with its own organizations and customs. Jewish autonomy dates from the time of

Casimir the Great, in the fourteenth century. The story is that one of his numerous lovers was a beautiful Jewess called Esther, and from his affection for her he allowed the Jews many privileges. These privileges lasted through the history of the Polish State; they were confirmed in 1827 by the Polish Government, and hold good to-day. The Jews elect their own representatives to a religious governing body, which administers all Jewish affairs, such as synagogues, cemeteries, hospitals, charities and schools. Purely religious affairs are controlled by the Rabbis. There are also the *Cheders*, or religious schools, which inculcate the Orthodox Jewish rites. The Jews are easily recognizable in the streets by their distinct costume, which consists of a low round black cap and a long black cloak, reaching almost to the ground. They are almost always bearded, and in Galicia have two long curls hanging down over the ears. These curls (*pejsy*) were made illegal in Russia by the order of Nicholas I. The language of the Jews is Yiddish, a corruption of a Low German dialect with an admixture of Polish words. The more learned Jews speak Hebrew, and all understand Polish and sometimes Russian. The Jewish quarter of Warsaw lies west of the Castle Square. The houses, especially in the Nalewki Street, are large, often pretentious, but unspeakably squalid and dirty, and without window curtains. A great deal of the retail trade of the city is in Jewish hands. They are butchers, bakers, and small shopkeepers. All the second-hand book-shops are in Jewish hands. Large numbers of Jews drive in from the country in the morning in their long narrow carts full of market produce. The Jewish population has spread into the Old Town, and has brought into this fine old square its squalid booths and its general air of dirt and neglect. Jewish children sprawl all over the square, outside the

former houses of the Polish gentry. The Jew, as middleman and old-clothes man, is ubiquitous. He will buy anything from you, and will stand for hours in the courtyard of each big block of flats, crying in his guttural voice *Handluje* or *Kupuje* ("I trade" or "I buy"). The commerce and transport agencies are also largely in the hands of the wealthier Jews, who act to a great extent as representatives of German firms. The English traveller will not be able to do much business without the Jewish middleman, and he will find that preferential treatment is given to German firms. The fur trade is, as everywhere, chiefly in Jewish hands, especially in the hands of the Jewish immigrants from the western provinces of Russia. These newcomers, who are known as Litwaki or Lithuanian Jews, are extremely arrogant, and have acquired in Russian schools a hatred and contempt for everything Polish. They have only come in Warsaw recently, and have roused even the friendly Polish Jews to oppose all Polish national aims. The great Jewish day of the week is Saturday—the Sabbath—when all Warsaw is overrun by Jewish holiday-makers. The poorer classes keep to the Ghetto, but the richer class spreads all over the city, and forms dense crowds in the boulevards. A number of short, rosy-cheeked youths in black cloaks, with long walking-sticks, appear, and crowds of fair Jewish maidens, black dressed for the most part, with their exotic beauty, high colouring and dark eyes. Only in Warsaw can one see the extraordinary mixture of types that goes to make up the Jewish race. These vary from an almost pure negro type, with thick lips and snub nose, from long-nosed Armenian-looking Jews, to a European type, often of extraordinary beauty. The red-headed, or "Judas" type of Jew, is very common, especially among the bakers. One associates him with noisy carts and flour. The morality of the

orthodox Jews is very strict, but from the large class on the border line between Jewish and Polish society come a large proportion of the *demi-monde* of Warsaw; and the Jewish type is common in the cabarets, ubiquitous in the restaurants and in the streets. Besides the orthodox Jews, there is the Jewish sect of Karaites, who came to Russia from the Black Sea district, and flourished under the Khazar Empire. They were the first Jewish inhabitants of the Ukraine, coming before the great wave of immigration from Germany and the West, and they claim to be the aboriginal inhabitants of the Polish Ukraine.

Jewish politics were formerly confined to an attempt to obtain civil rights. The Jews were always tolerated by the Poles, and never permitted to enter the territories of Moscow, so they always had a feeling of gratitude to Poland, and, as late as 1863, assisted the Poles in the political movement that terminated in the insurrection of that year. But the attempt to assimilate them, and the rise of a rival Polish middle class, accentuated national antipathies, and to-day Polish-Jewish relations are very bitter and are reflected in the Press. The assimilated Jews speak Polish, and are either Catholics, Protestants or Agnostics. They play a large part in the Polish Progressive parties under such leaders as Kempner. They have given Warsaw many of its professional men, like the lawyers Konic and Ehrenberg, and scientists like Dickstein; and the Warsaw Ghetto, like the Ukraine, is a great nursery for musicians, generally of extraordinary precocity, who aim at following the career of a Rubinstein or a Pachmann. There are three leading Jewish papers: the "*Izraelita*" in Polish, the "*Hajnt*" in Yiddish, and the "*Hecifer*" in Hebrew. A great number of the Jews are Social Democrats, and in 1905–6 they formed a purely Jewish revolutionary party, the *Bund*, which was

persecuted with great severity by the authorities. The old Polish Jews are still more or less passive from a political point of view, but they are being stirred up to take some part in the national movement that started in Galicia and the Ukraine. This Jewish nationalism is called Sionism, but has little in common with the Western Jewish scheme for the revival of a State in Palestine. In its extreme form, it is a plan to create a joint State, Judæa-Polonia, where Poles and Jews shall have equal rights. In the main, it is a movement for the use of Yiddish in the administration and the schools, on an equality with Polish. In the last election to the Duma before the War, the Jews obtained a majority in the Warsaw district, and elected a Social Democrat, much to the annoyance of Polish nationalists. They also elected a Jewish member for Lodz. The rise of Jewish nationalism has thus led to a great political antagonism between the two races. So far this has been an exclusively political struggle, chiefly between the Lithuanian Jews and the Polish nationalists. The large mass of Polish Jews has not been deeply affected, as it is not politically educated. So that the natural business relations between Jew and Christian in the towns go on as before, and the Jewish sociability, their easy-going friendliness and sympathy, together with the traditional tolerance of the Polish people, enable the mass of the two races to live together without any more antipathy than is displayed in mild banter and the time-honoured jests that have been exchanged from time immemorial. The more serious accusations of ritual murder and similar superstitions, so widespread among the peasants of the Ukraine, as seen in the recent Beiliss trial, only lurk in remote corners of Poland. The real quarrel between Pole and Jew has arisen from the Polish attempt to free the peasant from Jewish exploitation. This economic measure, so successful

in Poznania, has met with much opposition in the Kingdom of Poland, and has led to an influx of Jews from the country to the towns, full of bitterness against the Polish community. It is the commonest Jewish accusation against the Poles to-day that they are boycotting the small Jewish trader in the villages. But it must be remembered that Jewish economic solidarity has constituted an informal boycott of Polish traders for hundreds of years, so that this measure is looked on by the Poles as a policy of self-defence. On the whole, the life of the Jews in Warsaw is quite tolerable. They do not suffer the political disabilities that existed in the rest of Russia, and have been favoured by the Government at the expense of the Poles. The Jewish faith flourished in Poland more freely than elsewhere before the rise of a Jewish community in America, and great careers are open to Jews by their contact with Polish civilization. The Jew has always been regarded tolerantly by his Polish neighbour, and this feeling finds expression in the works of the leading Polish writers, Mickiewicz, Lelewel, Prus and especially Orzeszkowa. In particular, Polish music and art offers an outlet to the artistic genius of the Jewish race; and quite apart from Polish literature, Warsaw is a great clearing-house of ideas and talents. It has already given the world Jan Bloch, Zamenhoff and a host of virtuosi, and, as education advances, it will be a mine of artistic and intellectual talent for the future. The most striking fact in Jewish life is the deplorable state of the poorer class of the Jews. A standard of material comfort seems to be entirely absent. Religious ritual and money-making seem to absorb all the activities of the Jewish population, and, while the house of the assimilated Jew often surpasses that of the Pole in comfort and elegance, the typical house in the Ghetto is unspeakably dirty and squalid. Beyond the elementary

principles of hygiene demanded by his religion, the poor Jew makes no attempt to observe the laws of sanitation or to enjoy the amenities of material civilization. The brilliant, if gaudy, trappings which the Jew delights to wear in the boulevards scarcely cover the meanness and dirt of the surroundings among which he lives. It is not poverty—he is often quite wealthy—but a lack of any idea of comfort and of an intelligent use of his savings. The only sign of change is naturally the result of the emigration to America. The picture, in almost every Jewish house, of the prosperous cousin in America, is significant of this change; and it is to be hoped that a far-reaching social reform will soon penetrate to the Jewish Ghettos of Poland, and raise the whole level of Jewish life. The example of the assimilated Jews, and their readiness to help their poorer brethren, should make such an advance possible. The richer Jewish families play a great part in Warsaw life. One family, the Kronenbergs, have received a Russian title, possess a Palace, and have intermarried with the leading Polish families. There is also a large number of wealthy families like the Natansons, Epsteins, and Rotwands, who are leaders in Warsaw economic and social life; while many of the big shops display names such as Guttmann, Meyer, Rubinrot, Muttermilch and Perlmutter.

Polish life in Warsaw is largely centred in flats. The residential parts of the town consist of great blocks of flats, with from two to five courtyards in each. Each block is managed by an administrator and two or three assistants, who performed the duties of registration and surveillance demanded by the Russian police and the municipal authorities. To be without a passport or a "residence card" was fatal. The factotum of the administrator was the *concierge* (in Polish *stróż*; in Russian *dvornik*), who dwelt in a porter's lodge, had

to sweep the street outside his block, and was the general messenger for the tenants as well as the administrator of the house. Each house had its number and the name of the street written up outside, and clearly visible on the lamp after dark. The porter sat outside the lodge in the evening, wrapped in the thickest of furs. The door was shut at night, and all tenants had to ring the bell and pay a small gratuity to the porter, as at a college in Oxford or Cambridge. The porter also acted as a police spy, and kept a close watch on the movements of political suspects. Shops were entirely separate, and had no living quarters attached to them. In these flats the Poles, whether of the gentry, the Intelligentsia or the middle class in general, spend their lives. The suburbs of the city merge in the country, and contain more blocks of flats for the artisan class. Many of the poorer people live in the basement rooms of the blocks of flats. Evictions and removals are frequent, and life generally is more unsettled and fluctuating than in England. A typical flat consists of three or four rooms all in a row, so that any entertainment causes the guests to overflow into the bedrooms, and it is no shame for the guests to sit on the beds of their hosts. Hospitality is so fundamental a feature of Polish life, that the standard of comfort is necessarily lower than in England. The grand spare-room is unknown, and guests are content to rest on sofas or even on matresses on the floor, and to take pot-luck in the matter of food. There are no regular hours for calling. The chief meal of the day takes place in the afternoon, generally about 3 o'clock, when the schools are ended. But the dinner hour varies from 2 to 6 o'clock, and chance guests are always asked to participate. There is no regular breakfast, only coffee and rolls in the morning, and a small meal at 12 or 1, if dinner is at a late hour. Tea is generally taken after dinner, and the day concludes

with supper at an unfixed hour in the evening. A great many Poles take their meals outside, and occupy only one room, especially the poorer members of the Intelligentsia, who live largely in the cafés, where they hold their "feasts of reason" with their colleagues, and read the newspapers. The humblest Polish café takes in almost all the Polish papers and many foreign ones. The "Warsaw Courier" is the most widely read, together with papers of a more political trend. The "Daily Telegraph" is to be seen in all the cafés, and often the "Times." In the larger cafés there are all the weeklies and the illustrated papers. Besides the Polish "Illustrated Weekly" and "World," one can always read the "Illustrated London News," as well as the chief French and German illustrated papers. You can be pretty sure of finding your friends at their special café at almost any hour of the day. Warsaw cafés are very famous, and are known as *cukiernias* or confectionaries (literally sugaries). They date from the period of Italian influence, and are famous for their cakes. Tea is drunk in the Russian fashion, but coffee is also common. In the summer, the café spreads out into the streets; and the rows of tables and chairs, with their groups of gaily-dressed women and men, give an animated appearance to the main streets of the city. The Poles are great talkers. They converse with tremendous zest and vivacity. They have a wealth of gesticulation and a fund of conversation and high spirits. The animation and volubility, the loud hum of conversation, and the prevalent excitement of its clients, gives the Polish *cukiernia* quite a character of its own. It affords a contrast in gaiety and temperament to our own quieter places of amusement. This animation is also carried into the larger restaurants and the hotels. The latter are a great centre of social life. The "Bristol" is the largest modern hotel, and is frequented by all travellers from the west. It is a common

rendezvous for Polish society, and for foreign residents. It is situated in the "Cracow Street," not far from the Castle; and opposite it stands the older "Europe" Hotel, more frequented by the Polish country gentry when they come into do business in Warsaw. The most ancient hotel is the English Hotel (*Hotel Angielski*), where Napoleon stayed on his return from his ill-fated campaign in Russia.

There are numerous places of amusement in Warsaw. The Grand Theatre, in the Grand Square, opposite the Town Hall, contains the Opera House and the Theatre of Varieties. There are several other excellent theatres, including the new experimental artistic theatre of Szyfman. Most famous of all is the musical comedy at the Summer Theatre. The Poles are indefatigable theatre-goers, and their drama is one of the finest in Europe, with a long tradition of fine actors and singers. Thus during the autumn, winter and spring the Pole has a great artistic feast set before him. He may see his national plays splendidly staged and brilliantly acted. All the chief foreign plays, too, are acted in Warsaw; and during the writer's residence there he saw Shakespeare, Sheridan, Wilde, Bernard Shaw, Synge, and Arnold Bennett on the stage. The opera is excellent, and in Warsaw one can generally see the national operas like "Halka," which are seldom performed elsewhere. The musical comedy of the Warsaw Operetta Company must always be visited by a foreigner, and possesses in Mlles Messalówna and Kawecka and M. Morozowicz some of the most brilliant actors and singers of their kind in Europe. It must be remembered that Warsaw is a nest of dramatic and musical talent, and while it has kept some of its best actors to itself, has given the world the brothers Reszke, Mdes Modrzejewska, Hoffmanowa and Sembrich. For instrumental music there is the Philharmonic (*Filharmonja*), where

the orchestra plays with all the Polish temperament and brilliance. It was formerly conducted by M. Mlynarski, now musical director in Glasgow, and M. Fitelberg, now conductor of the Imperial Opera at Vienna. Few districts have produced so many virtuosi as Warsaw, which has given the world Chopin, Lipiński, Kontski, Wieniawski, Hoffman, Paderewski, Sliwiński, and a host of others. Other places of amusement, which are open most of the night, are the literary and artistic clubs, such as *Momus*, and the cabarets, the "Aquarium" and the "Renaissance," where the latest novelties from Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Petrograd, English clowns and American ccons, meet all sorts of queer performers from Hungary, Roumania and Russia. Warsaw is seen at its gayest during the carnival season, when many balls and routs are held, when the streets are as gay at midnight as at midday, and when gentlemen and ladies can be seen having refreshment at the restaurants in evening dress, when the business man is having his breakfast. At these balls one can see a glimpse of the chivalrous, artistic, brilliant Poland that is undergoing such a rapid transformation to-day. The grace and verve of the Polish gentry is seen at its best in their dances, and one realizes how astonishingly handsome are the men of Poland, how graceful and stately its women. One sees the courtesy charm and grand manner of the Pole at its best, and one realizes, for the first time, what real dancing is especially in the wonderful gracefulness, vigour and infinite variety of the *Mazur*. The rhythmic emphasis, the poetic appeal, the profound melancholy and melodic persistence of the music of these dances, when once heard, can never be forgotten. With their background of proud faces and stately forms, dainty gestures of the tiny hands and feet for which the Polish ladies are famous, the rustling of perfect dresses, the hum of speech, and, above

GRAND THEATRE

MARKET SQUARE IN THE OLD TOWN

WARSAW

all, the gestures of the most graceful people in Europe, these national airs, with their emphatic, almost monotonous, rhythm, their virility and their plaintive melodic appeal, haunt the ear for ever afterwards. One forgets the "Polish question," one ceases to try to understand the complex Polish character, one feels it. Poland ceases to be a mystery; it becomes a wonderful stimulating reality; a complex of images that one cannot formulate or express. The Pole has no need to explain himself to Europe. He has simply to reveal himself, and the world sees the past, present and future of Poland as a golden thread through the ages, a long undying tradition of things fine and beautiful that has survived in a world of oppression and commercialism from an age that was grander and more spacious.

The Polish gentry have ceased to be a caste, and are to-day scattered throughout the community, as artists, business men, shopkeepers and artisans. There is still a distinct Polish social life, with its apex in an aristocracy. But the division and oppression of Poland have scattered the aristocratic families. They live largely in their country houses, and for their education and amusement they prefer to go to Western Europe. Only in Austria has the aristocracy of Lesser Poland kept some sort of cohesion, and the freedom of the Poles there has allowed the Polish gentry to play a considerable part in the social life of Cracow, Lemberg, and even Vienna. In Russia, the Polish aristocracy was far more scattered, and some of the chief families lived in the country and used to go to Petrograd for the season. But a certain number of families maintained the great traditions of eighteenth-century Warsaw and the free Kingdom of Poland. In Warsaw, besides the flats and the more pretentious houses of the plutocracy, there are a number of palaces belonging to the nobility. The leader of this society is Count Zamoyski, commonly

known as the *Ordynat* (the Polish title for a man whose estate is entailed, as in the French *majorat*), who lives in the famous eighteenth-century *Palais bleu*. He is a descendant of the great king-maker, John Zamoyski; and his family has an unbroken tradition of patriotism and ability. The country residence of the Zamoyskis is Zamość, from which they take their name, and where John Zamoyski in the sixteenth century founded a university. The university has been abolished, but the large library remains, housed in a big building next to the *Palais bleu*. It contains over 85,000 volumes, including many old Italian books, a mass of Polish MSS., and a museum containing the armour of Sobieski, a number of Turkish and Austrian flags captured by John Zamoyski himself, and numerous other curiosities. Count Zamoyski is one of the wealthiest landowners in Poland and the leader of Warsaw society. The leading lady in Warsaw society before the War was the Marchioness Wielopolska. The family of Wielopolska is not so old as many of the other Polish families, but its connexion with the Gonzagas of Milan, and its fortunate inheritance of large estates from other Polish families, raised it to great eminence. Its political and social importance dates from Alexander Wielopolski (see Chapter V.), whose friendship with the Emperor Alexander II. gave Poland some concessions, and who founded a new school of political thought. His son and grandson have remained friendly with the Romanov dynasty and have dwelt in Petrograd. Another family which was in good odour at the Russian Court was that of Potocki, one of the largest and richest of Polish families. Count Joseph Potocki has large estates in Volhynia, and was a well-known figure in Russia. But the chief Warsaw branch of this family are the descendants of August Potocki, a great figure in Warsaw in his day, who entertained informally Edward VII., then

Prince of Wales, at his palace. Another great Warsaw family is that of the Krasińskis, who have given Poland many great men, including the poet Count Zygmunt. They possess a palace and a great library, which was excellently managed by the late Count Adam Krasiński, a man of considerable learning and culture. Another Krasiński, Ludwik (Lewis), was one of the first of the Polish aristocracy to embark on business enterprise. He made an enormous fortune in sugar, and left a fabulously wealthy daughter, who married Prince Czartoryski. The family of Branicki inherited the great Sobieski palace at Wilanów, and plays a leading part in Warsaw society. Prince Adam Czartoryski, scion of a great Lithuanian house, occasionally visits Warsaw, from which his family was so long banished by the rancour of the Romanovs, after their participation in the Polish revolution of 1830. The magnificent historic residence of this family at Pulawy was transformed into an Agricultural College by the Government which confiscated it in 1831, and the great wealth of the family consists of landed estates in Galicia and money in the Bank of England. A number of other famous families live in Warsaw: the Radziwills, Lubomirskis, Mirskis, Czetwertynskis, and newer families like the Sobańskis. A great deal of the aristocratic aloofness has gone, and these families now intermarry with assimilated Jewish families like the Kronenbergs. But almost all of them refused to mix with Russian officialdom, both as a matter of patriotism and from their dislike of the vulgar career-seeker who was so common in Russian circles in Poland. The entertainments at the Castle in Warsaw were very seldom honoured by the presence of any important Poles. The Warsaw aristocracy kept very much to themselves, not from aloofness, but because of their difficult position as large landowners under an alien government. They amused themselves at their own

private receptions and at the Sports' Club, where few outsiders were admitted except the foreign Consuls. The annals of the nineteenth century have seen so many estates confiscated, not only with great private loss to their owners, but with great loss to the nation when they fell into the hands of Russian officials or parvenus, that the landowners have been careful not to associate themselves too closely with political or even public movements of any kind. With the advent of political freedom to Poland, they will play a far larger part in the life of the capital and their numbers will be swelled by new-comers from Petrograd and Vienna. The great traditions of hospitality and public service, handed down from the good old days of the King of Poland, will once more be revived.

But it is in the life of the middle classes that all the important currents of Warsaw flow strongest, from business, professional work, politics and journalism to art and music. This large element knows few distinctions of rank. It consists of the lesser landowners, factory owners, writers, and so forth; and is recruited from all strata of the community. The word middle class, indeed, is hardly used in Poland, and, if a word must be used for this variegated society, it is called the Intelligentsia, though not in the specific and doctrinaire meaning of the word as used in Russia. The Poles are not naturally dwellers in cities, and an urban class is only gradually being evolved. A great many of the inhabitants of Warsaw have estates in the country, and those who have not stay with their relatives who have. Warsaw in the winter season is full of landowners from all over the kingdom and from Lithuania and the Ukraine, who come both for business and for amusement. Those who are permanent citizens of Warsaw, when they can afford it, build or hire villas in the country districts round Warsaw. Such places as Konstancin,

Piaseczno, Jablonna, and many villages along the Vienna railway are full of residents in the summer, when Warsaw empties itself into the surrounding country. Though the district is flat, sandy and unprepossessing, these summer resorts are soon made habitable and pleasing. Villas are built to suit the individual taste of their owners, and beautiful gardens grow up round them under the shadow of birch and pine trees. The streets are lined with acacias, from which the crickets chirp merrily if monotonously, and there is generally a stretch of forest in the vicinity, to give grateful shade from the hot summer sun. A café, with concert room, orchestra, gardens and tennis courts, generally forms the centre of social life and amusement, and in these frequent fêtes are held, called in Polish *zabawa*. Dances and parties occur almost every day, and long discussions on politics and art enable the Polish town dwellers to enjoy life during the summer, a life which is curiously detached from the real peasant society which surrounds these summer resorts, which are linked up with the city by the most antiquated little railways in Europe.

One of the most striking features of life in Warsaw is the atmosphere of religion. This is an extraordinary phenomenon in a city where commerce and industry are highly developed, where political oppression has caused a wide demoralization, and where a mixed society, partly of Jewish origin, forms a large part of the population. Yet in spite of the agnosticism and advanced beliefs of a great many of the Intelligentsia, nowhere is Catholicism so conspicuous a feature of social life, nowhere does the Roman Church display such vitality, or possess such a hold over the community as in Warsaw. One reason for this surprising phenomenon is that the Church is a national bulwark against oppression, a community which the Government cannot

destroy. Even Prussian officialdom quailed before the idea of attacking religion, and Prussia had to admit the complete failure of Bismarck's attack on the Catholic Church. Thus the Church has played an important rôle in all Polish revolutions. The chief feature of the last insurrection was the patriotic services held in the churches; and the closing of the churches was the prelude to armed fighting. Although the Russians have built a large cathedral in the centre of the city, the main religious life of the people is centred in the Catholic churches, which are very numerous. Prominent among them are the Church of St Floryan, in the Praga, and the big new church at the end of Marshalls' Street. These are both modern. More ancient are the eighteenth-century churches of the Carmelites and Bernardines, built in the rococco style which flourished under the Saxon kings. But the real centres of religious life in the city are the Church of the Holy Cross, situated where the New World Street widens out into the Cracow Suburb, where religious services are always held at every great crisis or national festival, and the Cathedral of St John, an older building, in the style known as "Vistula Gothic," a quaint, cramped building half-hidden in the narrow street that links the "Old Town" and the Castle Square, and connected with the Castle by a bridge, along which the Polish kings used to go to their private seat in the cathedral. This cathedral contains many national memories, and the Poles have never forgotten the progress of Stanislaw Poniatowski thither, to give thanks after the promulgation of the Constitution of May 3rd, 1791. The head of the Catholic hierarchy in Warsaw is the Archbishop of Warsaw, who is second only to the Archbishop of Gnesen (in Prussia), who used to be Primate of Poland. But what strikes one most is the popularity of the churches in Warsaw. Many foreign travellers have noticed the fact

that the Catholic religion is seen at its best in Poland, while it is at its worst nearer home in Italy. On Sundays and festival days the churches are thronged; and in the country districts there are also large crowds listening bareheaded outside. On the way to Konstancin there are two churches close to the railway; and on festival days the crowds spread over the lines, so that the curious spectacle is seen of a railway train passing through a crowd of worshippers during Mass. But it is not only on Sundays that religion sends out its appeal. The churches are always open, and worshippers are constantly coming in and out. One gets the impression that their influence is projected into the busy streets. Religious processions are a feature at Warsaw, especially at the time of the Corpus Christi festival. But the two greatest days in the religious year are Good Friday, when the whole population proceeds to one church after another to see the *Groby* (graves) or flower-decked representations of the tomb of Christ, and All Souls' Day, when everyone goes out to the beautiful cemetery outside the barriers of the city—a wide park covered with trees, beneath the shade of which sleep the dead of Poland. This custom dates from pagan times when the people used to bring food and drink for the spirits of the departed, who were invoked by the *guslar* or magician. It is a relic of ancestor worship. To-day the people themselves eat and drink on their ancestors' graves, so the traditional ceremony has survived. The churches, then, are real centres of spiritual life, and every Pole bares his head when he passes them. It is a feature of Warsaw to see the cabmen, as they pass along the crowded streets, raise their caps every time they pass a church. The church service is very inspiring, with the beautiful music that is traditional in Poland, the sacred pictures, the masses of candles, the eloquent sermons in Polish—all appeal

to the æsthetic and spiritual side of the Polish mind. There is real meaning in the Polish words written up on the St Alexander Church in the Ujazdowska Boulevard, " Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy-laden, and I will refresh you." The most rampant Protestant cannot but forget his antipathy to Popery; and the agnostic must forbear to sneer, before the real spaciousness and beauty, the genuine spirituality and reverence of the Catholic Church in Poland. To every Pole it is a large and sacred part of his life.

The Intelligentsia in Warsaw is chiefly occupied with literature, art and politics. Although long repressed by Russian officialdom, and lacking the freedom and the peaceful artistic atmosphere of Cracow, Warsaw gives the lead to Poland in many branches of learning, in political and social activity. From the Olympians like Dmowski, Sienkiewicz and Swientochowski, down to the humblest schoolmaster or journalist, all are engaged in work of national importance; all are cultivating some small art or profession that is leading cumulatively to a great, free Poland in the future. The greater workers in every field are discussed in other parts of this book. But the lesser Intelligentsia in the cafés are delightful people to meet. They discuss, criticize, and help to create public opinion. Above all they talk, talk—on every subject under the sun; and their conversation is wilder, more fantastic and more interesting, owing to the lack of that control and sanity that come from established national institutions. Cracow may have its institutions and schools, to mould and direct opinion, but in Warsaw there was only the Russian Government and a vast, inchoate opposition, so that on such a disturbed surface, a perfect maelstrom of ideas is formed. Polish individualism here runs riot. No institution or theory is too sacred to be attacked, so that all artistic ideals and political organizations

have to face a regular hail of criticism. But what is lost in discipline and sanity is gained in inspiration and originality. Each circle meets regularly in its own favourite café. Towards the evening the members saunter in, from office, studio, lodgings or bed, and the talk begins and gathers intensity as the group grows. In one such group the writer spent many a happy hour. An eminent literary critic was there, a schoolmaster or two, a musician, a novelist, a dentist-poet, an actress, and several others of no visible occupation—all under the unacknowledged chairmanship of a large, impressive gentleman with a flowing beard, who had been mistaken for a Grand Duke in Paris. He was a sort of Dr Johnson, with a continual flow of conversation on all the affairs of Poland and Europe. He had no visible means of subsistence, and probably lived in considerable poverty. One got the impression that his tea and bun formed his only meal for the day; and he was always glad to fill his pipe with English tobacco. But he gave far more than he received, for he was the guiding spirit of the circle, and threw much light on all questions discussed even concerning England. His dictum was almost the only authority not questioned by the circle. The day the writer drew his attention to the novels of R. L. Stevenson, which he did not know, and which elicited his unqualified admiration, was a day of triumph for Great Britain, for the commercialism and snobbery of which the circle had a scarcely concealed contempt. These turbulent æsthetes, with their intense individualism, their unschooled idealism, and their enormous sociability are an important element in Warsaw society. They are in closer touch with both art and with life than the bigger men, they are less doctrinaire and less deadly earnest then the Russian Intelligentsia, because they have centuries of Western culture behind them; they have few prejudices, and they have a full and

detached vision of Polish life and of European society in general.

The political and journalistic life of Warsaw has always been strong. Here lives Mr Świentochowski, the founder of Warsaw Positivism, and the leaders of National Democracy. Here Jewish nationalism has risen up to oppose Polish chauvinism. A great Press War is carried on in the chief daily papers. But the real struggle was, before the War, limited to the home and the schoolroom, where alone Polish life could express itself freely. A great silent struggle against oppression and demoralization was being carried on beneath the surface in Warsaw, under an outward appearance of normal prosperity and tranquillity.

Externally, Warsaw is a magnificent city, despite its poor suburbs, and its buildings are worthy of its great position. The Castle is to-day a splendid palace in the Louis Quinze style, an enlargement of a former castle of much earlier date. Near it is the cathedral and the statue of Zygmunt III. holding a Catholic cross to symbolize the triumph of Catholicism over the reformed religion. Near by, is the Old Town, built formerly by the municipality of Warsaw, and typical of the wealth of the Polish bourgeoisie in earlier days, when they built the magnificent Town Halls at Poznań and Dantzig and the market places of Cracow and Lemberg. One of the houses here is the wine-shop of Fukier, whose house and business date from the early seventeenth century. Here the old Polish wines, Tokay and Mead, may still be obtained. Going south along the main streets, we pass the former palace of the Radziwills, until 1915 a Russian official residence, in front of which stood a statue of the hated Paskevich, conqueror of Warsaw. It has probably now been demolished. Further south are the university and the palace of Staszyc, which was a Russian school before the War.

THE PALACE OF JOHN III (SOBIESKI) AT WILANÓW

LAZIENKI PARK. PALACE AND OPEN AIR THEATRE

WARSAW

In front of the palace is the fine statue of stately Copernicus by Thorwaldsen. As the street narrows we see the former palace of the Zamoyski family, confiscated in 1863, and latterly a Russian club. The Ujazdówska Boulevard leads to the two public gardens, the Ujazdów Gardens and the Lazienki Gardens, containing the palace of the last king of Poland and the open-air theatre opening on a lake, where he held his grand performances. At the end of the city is the Belvedere Palace, whence the Grand Duke Constantine narrowly escaped with his life in 1830. Some miles from the city, down the river, is the famous palace of Sobieski, Wilanów, part of which is preserved as a Sobieski museum. His statue has been placed by the Russian Government in a remote part of the Lazienki Gardens. Some way west of the main street is the Theatre Square, with the huge Grand Theatre built in the twenties, and opposite it the *Ratusz* or Town Hall. Apart from these buildings there are the palaces of the nobility along the main streets of the city. At the end of the Marshalls' Street is the Saxon Garden, with its palace, the residence of the two Saxon Electors who were also kings of Poland, and, close by, the palace of Bruhl, their chief minister. The suburbs of Warsaw are most disappointing and no attempt has been made to utilize the river for promenades or embankments. One scarcely sees the Vistula except when crossing the bridge to the Praga. The tramway service of Warsaw is excellent, and cabs are plentiful and cheap, costing before the War only 15 kopecks, 3½d., for an ordinary course. There were also two-horsed cabs with rubber tyres, costing more. The main streets are well paved with wood, but the side streets are cobbled, and a drive over them is an uncomfortable adventure, accompanied by a noise that one never forgets.

Napoleon said once: "En Varsovie on s'amuse.

There is indeed an air and brilliance pervading all the external life of the city. The darker aspects of Russian oppression were completely out of sight, and an atmosphere of joviality, an almost hectic gaiety, an intense vitality and enjoyment of life are the prominent features of the city. Public opinion is excitable, fickle and mobile —yields itself readily to bitter hatred and to generous forgiveness. The coat of arms of the city consists of a syren, and all the inhabitants of Warsaw are proud of the seductive charms of their town. Public life could find little chance of expressing itself during the dark period of Russian rule. Now that this nightmare shadow has lifted, a tremendous outburst of civic energy will be loosed. The citizens will be able once more to give vent to their generous emotions, and to display their infinite variety, their quick changeable character, and their enjoyment of the art of life in a large way. The syren city will again reveal itself to the world in its vivid variegated life, its rapid interplay of ideas, and the many-hued imagination that are its surface qualities. But beneath all this will flow the deep currents of faith, tenacity and patriotism that have been submerged, but have never disappeared in the life of the capital city of Poland.

CHAPTER XII

THE GREAT ROMANTIC POETS

NO writings in Polish have come down to us from early times. There must have been some poetry in the vernacular, but it has perished, though references to it appear in early chronicles. Throughout the Middle Ages, the literary language of Poland was Latin, as it was over most of Western Europe. In Poland, Latin was more universal and long-lived than elsewhere because civilization came from Rome and Germany; and both the priest and the foreign settler were either ignorant of the Polish language or held it in contempt. Christianity came into Poland as late as 966, but Poland, by her remoteness and her wars with Germany, remained an isolated region, cut off from the centres of culture and progress. Moreover, the Poles adopted the Latin alphabet, and the limitations of its letters made its adaptation, to express all the Polish sounds, a slow work of many centuries. Thus Poland, which became later the most advanced Slavonic country, was at first far behind both Bulgaria and Russia in literature. These countries owed their rapid literary progress, in the tenth to twelfth centuries, to the proximity of Constantinople, which was then a far greater cultural centre than Rome, and to the invention of the Cyrillic alphabet which was fitted to express all the Slavonic sounds. Thus all early Polish literature is written in Latin until the second half of the sixteenth century. The most interesting works of this

period were at first the Chronicles, written in the monasteries by foreigners like Martin Gallus, and by native writers like Kadlubek, Bishop of Cracow, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Finally, these early efforts culminated in a complete "History of Poland," the work of John Dlugosz the historian of the King Jagiello. The foundation of Cracow University in 1400 by the same monarch, led to the rise of the study of scholastic philosophy, mathematics and astronomy. Then there came a wave of foreign influence, which brought humanistic studies to Poland. Among the products of this school were the famous classical scholar, Gregory of Sanok, Archbishop of Lemberg, and John Ostroróg, Palatine of Poznania, a political reformer of a quite modern kind, who warned the Poles against the German advance on the west. But the greatest figure among these writers is Nicholas Copernicus, who produced his great work on the heavens in 1543.

Polish literature really begins at the time of the Reformation, and is written partly in Latin and partly in Polish. A great literature of all kinds springs up, and the epoch is known to the Poles as their Golden Age. The earliest writers naturally dealt with the social and political position of Poland, and one of them, Andrew Modrzewski or Modrevius, was widely read beyond the borders of Poland. His works, written in Latin, cover a wide field, treating of laws, war, religion and political science. His works on the religious questions raised by the Reformation are characteristic of the extraordinary tolerance displayed in Poland at this period. But the most striking of his writings was his book "On the Reform of the Republic," published in 1551, in which he reproaches the Poles for the weaknesses of their constitution and social system, and in which he foresees, with astonishing insight, to what an abyss the faction fights and anarchy of the Polish gentry were leading them.

His contemporary, Orzechowski, was a finer artist, but a less consistent thinker; and his quarrel and reconciliation with the Roman Church is one of the most interesting episodes in the Reformation period. The last of these political writers, Peter Skarga, wrote in Polish. The new religious ideas had already run their course, and the distracted Polish gentry were gradually falling back, on the wave of the counter-reformation, into the bosom of the Catholic Church. Skarga was a Jesuit priest, and his objects were to complete the reconversion of Poland to the Roman faith, and to advocate political and social reforms that would revive the power of the Polish state. He was the Court chaplain, a preacher of extraordinary eloquence and power, and his "Sermons" are full of religious and political ideas, expressed in telling oratorical style, and full of burning zeal for religion and of fervid patriotism. He reminds us of John Knox, in his character and methods; and the Polish gentry were forced to hear, from the pulpit, truths as hard as those which Mary Queen of Scots heard in Edinburgh from the Calvinist reformer. Unhappily the Poles accepted the religious orthodoxy that Skarga preached, but not his ideas of reform, and Poland could not avoid the calamities he foresaw till it was too late. Speaking of the Polish State to the nobles who were ruining it, he writes: "Look ye at the citizens of the States of Turkey and Muscovy, how they are oppressed and suffer tyrants over them. Not so your fatherland: she is no stepmother, but a true mother. She bears you in her hands, and will not that ye suffer any wrong. Ye yourselves are injuring her. Ye make yourselves tyrants, one over another, by failing to carry out the laws and by constraining the power of the State, there where ye need not." He blames the gentry for their democratic ideas, for imitating the German city States, when they have

not the walls of a city to protect them, for imitating Switzerland when they have no mountains, and Venice when they have not the brains of the Venetians. Good and prophetic advice this to the Poles at the crisis of their history, yet how radically opposed to Polish ideals and tendencies!

But the glory of the Golden Age of Polish literature was its poetry. A Protestant gentleman, Nicholas Rej, was the first writer in Polish, the author of several poetical compositions of a didactic and satirical nature. Rej did not know Latin well, and, as a good Protestant, had broken with the Roman tradition; so it is to the Reformation that Poland owes the origin of its national literature. But Rej, though a pioneer, a typical gentleman of his age, and a writer who can be read with great pleasure to-day, was not the genius who could create new forms. The glory of the Renaissance poetry is John Kochanowski, who was both pioneer, creator of the art of poetry in Polish, and consummate master of his art. He was a great scholar, and wrote Latin works as well as Polish. He travelled a great deal, came into contact with the Italy of Tasso and Ariosto at Padua, and lived in Paris, on friendly terms with Ronsard, to whom he comes nearest of his contemporaries in his poetry. His poetry shows much of the artificiality and imitation of the age, and he wrote a drama on a classical subject, which was performed on the stage in Warsaw. But his greatest and most genuine compositions are his "Threnes," written after the death of his beloved daughter Ursula, and distinguished by their simplicity, spontaneity and deep feeling. Kochanowski did for Poland what at a much later date Lomonosov was to do for Russia. He created poetic forms, and was the supreme master of the poets of his age, while at the same time he had to mould an unworked language to his purpose, and develop the common

speech to be a vehicle for expressing the loftiest ideas and images. The poets who succeeded Kochanowski were numerous and interesting, but cannot be described in this short sketch. The seventeenth century is an age of change and decline. The Jesuits had obtained complete control of Polish education; and orthodoxy, theology, and the use of Latin language, strangled the earlier outburst of poetry. Even the language itself became corrupted; and a mixture of Latin words with Polish has given the period the name of Macaronic. Two compositions only stand out from the dull literature of the period—a historical epic on the Turkish Wars and the Memoirs of Pasek, describing his adventures in the disturbed region of the Ukraine during the Cossack revolts, which Sienkiewicz has used as his chief source for his great historical novel "With Fire and Sword."

The revival of literature only begins in the eighteenth century, and proceeds slowly till the reform of education by Konarski, and the accession to the throne of the last King of Poland, Stanislaw Poniatowski, a magnificent patron of the arts, who made Warsaw a great centre of culture. The chief model for Polish literature was now of course France; and the influence of the French drama, of Molière, Voltaire and the Philosophes, remains predominant right down to 1820. The second half of the eighteenth century saw a great revival of Polish life and thought in every department, especially in education, and a great deal of these new ideas were expressed in literature. In the forefront again appear a number of works on political science, written by the reformers, in particular Staszyc and Kollontaj whose ideas were to set Polish civilization on new and progressive paths. A revival of the drama took place, and the most magnificent representations took place in the new theatre under the patronage of the King. The Court and the palaces of the leading magnates all had their poets. But the

most eminent figure on the purely literary side was Ignacy Krasicki, who became Archbishop of Poland. He experimented with many poetical forms, but his satire found its best medium of expression in the fable, in which he has only been equalled by La Fontaine and Krylov. The early years of the nineteenth century saw a large number of great writers still expressing themselves in classical forms, and the literary revolution in Poland did not come till the twenties, when romanticism was already well established elsewhere. Hitherto Polish literature had been backward, hesitating and largely imitative, except in political science. The new movement was to give Polish writers a more congenial atmosphere, and Polish poetry suddenly soars up to take a leading position among the literatures of Europe. Polish imagination, Polish political romanticism and love of nature, long repressed by the Polish attachment and subservience to French literary standards, suddenly find voice, and enable the Polish spirit to express its deepest thoughts in romantic poetry. There were many reasons for this great outburst of song. The great national revival had slackened during the period of armed fighting and despair that followed the Second and Third Partitions, but the work of the Educational Commission, and the great outburst of discussion that followed the emancipation of the Press in 1789, had stirred up public opinion to a deeper interest in literature and intellectual movements in general. A new age of hope dawned with the French revolutionary wars; and political romanticism was the form in which the new Polish ideals were embodied. The heroic deeds of the Polish legions and the gallant careers of Dombrowski and Prince Joseph Poniatowski stirred Polish hopes. The indefatigable reformers of the preceding age resumed their work. A great cultural centre was opened by the reform of Vilna University, and by the spread of Polish

schools all over Lithuania by the directing genius of Czartoryski and the sympathy of Alexander I. Staszyc, Niemcewicz and others founded the Society of the Friends of Science in Warsaw. Only Galicia remained sunk in apathy, isolated from the intellectual movement, though from Lemberg came Count Fredro, who settled in the more congenial atmosphere of Warsaw and wrote his comedies there. He was a second Molière, a master of clever dialogue, and of epigram, a witty delineator of the foibles and humours of Polish society. His plays have kept the stage in Poland till our own day, and are a perfect national product, yet written in strange detachment from current movements, independent both of the artificial classicism of one age and of the rising romanticism of another. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw still clung to the classical tradition, and gave to Poland experimental forms and a standard of literary taste for the great writers to follow. War and politics were absorbing the interest of the keenest minds of the country, and the home-loving literary pedant had his day. Only in the more remote parts of the country were isolated young men seeking more natural means of expression, prophetic souls dreaming on things to come.

At last, in 1815, the storm of war and revolution had subsided, and an era of peace and progress began. The threads of advance were taken up again, and the political freedom of the Kingdom and the intellectual atmosphere of Vilna University gave a wide field for new literary ideas. In place of the stereotyped forms of an artificial and imitative age of literature, the Poles sought for something more national, more individual, more redolent of their own past and future dreams—in fact a literary movement in which to express their own political romanticism. Such an atmosphere they found in the new ideas coming in from the West, the

reaction against classicism and against the tyranny of France, such as was expressed in the nationalism and individual self-assertion of the German poets and in the return to nature and the romantic visions of Burns, Wordsworth, Scott and Byron. No movement could give a more direct appeal to the Polish mind. The individualism and fantasy of the romantic writers awoke similar feelings that were a fundamental element in the Polish character. The deep love of nature of the Slav at last found a means of expression. Above all, in the attitude of Schiller, Scott and Byron towards a heroic past, the Poles found exactly the subjects that they were burning to express. Romanticism is the key-note of the great age of Polish poetry, which lasted about fifty years and may be divided into three periods: the time of evolution and experiment, when the writers had to struggle against the ideas of an earlier age, the period from 1830 to 1848 when the greatest masterpieces were written, and the period of decline down to the gradual transformation after 1863. The war for romanticism was prepared by the so-called Ukrainian school. Malczewski, the pioneer of the movement, came from Volhynia and died prematurely in 1826, at the age of thirty-three. His aspirations found a congenial sympathizer in Byron, whom he met at Venice, and to whom he suggested the adventures of Mazeppa as a poetic theme. He wrote an Ukrainian tale called "Marya," the first Polish romantic poem, which was influenced by Byron's poetic stories. Bogdan Zaleski sang of his native Ukraine and of the former life of the Cossacks who dwelt there. He fell under the influence of the mystic Towiański, which cut short his literary activities; but he survived till 1886, thus outliving all the great poets and the age of romanticism itself. The third Ukrainian poet was Goszczynski, born near Kiev, who wrote of the sanguinary peasant revolts in

the eighteenth century. But the glory of Polish poetry was the great trio of writers, Mickiewicz, Krasiński and Slowacki, who raised Polish literature from a minor position in Europe to be the supreme expression of romanticism, the consummate type of national self-expression in literature.

Adam Mickiewicz, born in 1798, was by birth not a Pole but a Lithuanian from near Vilna. The Lithuanian gentry were completely Polonized in language and manners, and gave to Poland many of her greatest leaders in art and war. Mickiewicz was educated at Vilna University, but soon came to Warsaw. In his ballads he took many of his themes from the folk-lore of the Lithuanian people, and these early works are full of ghostly knights, haunted lakes and water maidens. One of the most beautiful is his story of a fairy lake covered with water-lilies. The legend is that when the Tartars invaded Lithuania, the women of a captured town prayed to be delivered from murder and outrage, and were preparing to slay themselves, when suddenly they sank with their homes to the bottom of the lake and were turned into water lilies. No hand may pluck them, and they retain in death the stainlessness of their lives. Other ballads deal with the water maidens, or syrens, who inhabit the lakes and rivers of the Slavonic world. In his early period Mickiewicz is strongly under the influence of Goethe and Schiller, Scott and Byron. But he is never a pure imitator; all his creations have a strong national touch. The first great challenge thrown down to the Classicists was Mickiewicz's great Ode to Youth, in which he attacks vigorously the poets of the old school:

> Heartless, soulless—these are nations of skeletons.
> Youth, give me wings!
> Let me soar above a dead world
> To the heavenly land of illusion.

Where enthusiasm works miracles,
Strews the flowers of new things
And clothes hope in golden pictures.

Let him, whose vision age has dimmed,
Bending his wrinkled brow towards the ground,
See only so much of the circle of earth
As his dull eyes can compass.

But thou, Youth, soar
Beyond the horizon's bounds, and with the eye of the sun
Pierce the mighty masses of mankind
From end to end.
Look down—there where eternal mists darken the plain,
Submerged in a chaos of sloth—
It is the earth.
Look how upon its deathly waters
Has risen some reptile in its shell:
Itself unto itself rudder, pilot, and ship;
Preying on reptiles of lesser sort,
Now it rises, now sinks into the depths:

The wave cleaves not to it, nor it to the wave;
And then like a bubble it bursts against some fragment of rock.
None heeded its life, none heeds its death—
It is the self-lover.
Oh Youth, to thee the nectar of life is only sweet
Then when it is shared with others;
Divine joy intoxicates hearts
When they are bound together by a golden thread.

Together, my young comrades!
In the joy of all are the hopes of all.
Mighty in union, in exaltation wise,
Together, my comrades!

And happy he who hath fallen at his post,
If with his dead body
He has given to others a fresh rung
In the ladder to the castle of glory.
Together, my young comrades!
Though the path be steep and slippery,
Violence and weakness guard the entrance:
Let violence hurl back violence,

And let us learn to conquer weakness in our youth.
He who as a child in the cradle
Has smitten off the Hydra's head,
As a youth shall strangle Centaurs,
Shall tear from hell its victim
And shall rise to heaven on laurels.
Reach there where the eye reaches not!
Break what wisdom cannot break.
Oh Youth! Thy flights are mighty as the flights of eagles,
Like a thunderbolt thy arm.

Ho! Shoulder to shoulder! With united chains
Let us engirdle this little circle of earth.
To one centre let us direct our thoughts,
To one centre our spirits.
On from thy foundations, thou clod of Earth
We will force thee along on new paths,
Till shaking off thy shrivelled covering
Thou shalt remember thy green years.

As in the lands of chaos and night,
Of elements clashing in strife,
At one word, "Be," by the might of God
The living world appeared over the abyss.
The winds roared, the deep seas flowed
And stars lit up the blue of heaven:
So in the land of mankind there is still dark night.
The elements of will are yet at war.
Lo! love shall breathe with fire,
And from chaos shall come forth the world of spirit;
Youth shall conceive it in its womb,
And friendship shall cement it with eternal bonds.

Burst is the heartless ice
And the prejudices that dim the light.
Hail! dawn of freedom.
In thy train comes the sun of salvation.

In 1824 began a period of repression by the Russian Government in Poland. Mickiewicz, in company with other young patriots, was arrested and deported to Russia, and was destined never again to return to his beloved Lithuania. He made the acquaintance of the

leading Russian writers, and contracted a close friendship with the great poet Pushkin. During his wanderings in the Crimea he wrote a series of Crimean Sonnets, which are on a level with the best sonnets of Wordsworth. But his great work of this period was "Konrad Wallenrod," the tale of how a Lithuanian knight became leader of the German invaders of his country in order to destroy them. The poem itself is not free from many faults, and is strongly suggestive of the poems of Scott and the romances of Byron. But there are some wonderful passages in it, especially the Song of the Lithuanian Minstrel, whose lament over his country's fall could be applied equally to the position of Poland in the nineteenth century. This wonderful passage begins with an apostrophe to national poetry and especially folk-legends :

O poetry of the people, ark of the covenant
Between the former and the latter years !
In thee the folk lays down its warriors' arms
And weaves the flowers of its thoughts and feelings.
Thou standest as guardian of the memories of the national church,
With an archangel's wings and voice, and maybe with the sword of an archangel—
Fire will devour painted histories, and riches will fall to the sword of robbers.
Song will escape from all and range amongst the crowds of men.
And if mean souls know not how to feed her with grief
Or water her with hope, she will flee to the mountains,
She will cling to old ruins, and thence tell the story of ancient times.
So flies the nightingale from a burning house.
And sits for a moment on the roof.
When the roof falls, she betakes herself to the woods
And above the smouldering ashes and tombs
She sings with throbbing breast, to the passers-by, a song of grief.

Such a song I heard. An ancient peasant
Stood forth and played on a flute of willow a dirge for the dead ;

And with wailing lament sang of you, great ancestors.
As on the day of judgment, the archangel's trump
Shall summon from the tomb the buried past,
So at the sound of his song, the bones beneath my feet
Gathered together and grew in giant forms.
Pillars and domes rose from the ruins,
The desolate lakes throbbed with the sound of countless oars,
The gates of castles were flung wide to my view,
With the glittering crowns of princes and the armour of warriors.
The minstrels sang, the groups of maidens danced
Wondrous was my dream—rude was my awakening.
Gone are my native hills and woods.
My wearied mind sinks on its drooping wings,
Falls, and takes refuge in the silence of my home.
My lyre is dumb in my stiffened hand:
Amid the mournful wail of my own countrymen
Often I cannot catch the voices of the past.
Ah! Could I but pour my fire into the hearts of those that hear me,
And awaken to life the figures of the past that is dead;
Could I but pierce my brothers hearts with ringing words—
Then might their ancestral songs stir them in one moment.
To feel their hearts beat as of yore,
To feel in themselves that ancient grandeur of soul,
And live, were it but for one moment,
As nobly as their forefathers lived of old."

Mickiewicz left Russia in 1829 and spent some years in Rome. In 1830 broke out the great Polish revolution, which resulted in the complete loss of Polish liberty. These sad times are reflected in the third part of "Ancestors," his great mystical poem, the greatest monument ever erected to suffering, persecuted Poland, a grand spiritual tragedy based on the poet's own life and the fate of his country. It contains the most inspired passage he ever wrote, the famous improvization, which expresses his conception of the poet's calling. The hero of the story is in prison and in his despair he calls to God and Nature:

"My song, thou art a star beyond the boundaries of the world! And earthly vision pursuing thee, even

though it shall take wings of crystal, shall not reach thee, and shall but strike against the Milky Way. My songs, ye do not need men's eyes, men's ears! Flow in the deep places of my soul, shine on her heights, even as subterranean streams, as stars beyond the skies!

"Oh God, Oh Nature! Hearken unto me. My music and my song are worthy of you. I am the Master, I, the Master, stretch forth my hands, I stretch them even to the skies and I lay my hands upon the stars. Now fast, now slow, as my soul wills, I turn the stars. Millions of sounds flow forth. I mingle them, I part them, I unite them. I weave them into rainbows, harmonies and verse. I pour forth in sounds, in lightning streamers.

"Worthy of God and Nature are such songs! That song is great, that song is creation, that song is power, is might, is immortality. I feel immortality, I create immortality!"

In 1834, amid all the despair that benumbed the exiled Polish nation, Mickiewicz turned back in thought to the old life in Lithuania, and wrote his great masterpiece "Thaddeus" (*Pan Tadeusz*), an epic in twelve cantos. The story of this poem is a slight one, based on a private quarrel between two families, such as had led to many private feuds in Polish history. But the story is less important than the extraordinary picture the poem gives of old Polish life and manners. A stately procession of lords and ladies pass across the canvas as in a Polonaise of Chopin. Above all, in descriptions of nature Mickiewicz has no superior in any language. With a master hand he paints his pictures of country life, of forest and skies, visions that were to bring solace and repose to the aching hearts of many a Polish exile. The whole story is told with a gentle humour and tolerance that embrace not only the Polish gentry who are the chief figures in the story, but the peasant, the

Jewish musician, and even the Russian captain, the representative of their conquerors. There is a comic character, a Frenchified Pole, who has just returned from Paris, and terrifies the ladies by his new ideas when he threatens to " democratize and constitutionalize " his fellow-countrymen.

One or two of his magnificent descriptions of Nature must be quoted. Here is a description of the forests of Lithuania :

" My native trees ! If heaven grant that I shall return to gaze on you, my friends of old, shall I still find you ? Are you living still, you around whom I wandered once, a child ? How much I owe you. I, a poor huntsman, escaping from the mockery of my friends because I had missed my quarry, how often, in your stillness, I have hunted dreams ; when in the wild forest glades I forgot the chase and sat me down on a log. All around me the earth was silver with the hoary-bearded moss, mingled with the deep blue of withered berries. Further off flamed heathery knolls, decked with red berries like the coral beads of a rosary. All was stillness around me.

" Branches swung on high like green thick drooping clouds. Somewhere above their tranquil arch the gale raved, wailing, howling, crashing, thundering. Strange deafening uproar. It seemed as if a roaring sea was rocking overhead.

" Below it was as if a ruined city lay. A fallen oak, like a great hulk, protruded from the earth. Upon it leaned, like shattered walls and pillars, branching logs, beams half rotted, fenced round with a wall of grass. I trembled to look within the barricade ; there sat the lords of the forest—bears, wolves and boars. At the entrance lay the half-gnawed bones of the unwary guest. Often a stag's twin horns would steal through the green grass.

"And again all is still below. Lightly the woodpecker taps on the fir, and flits away. He is seen no more; he is hidden; but he ceases not to tap with his beak like a child which hides, calling 'I spy.' Nearer at hand sits a squirrel holding a nut in her little paw. Her tufted tail droops over her eyes like the plumes on a soldier's helmet. Even behind this veil she peers around. She sees the intruder, and then like a woodland dancer, leaps from tree to tree, twinkling, flashing past like lightning, till down into an unseen cleft in the tree-trunk she runs, like a dryad returning to her native tree. And again all is still."

Another beautiful passage is the description of the twilight in the cool depths of the forest where the two lovers plight their troth:

"They gazed into the sky which seemed to droop and contract and draw ever nearer to the earth until both, like lovers, shrouded beneath a dim veil, began a mysterious discourse, interpreting their feelings in the stifled sighs, the whispers, the murmurs, the half-uttered words which make up the weird music of the evening.

"The owl started it, hooting above the roof of the manor. Bats rustled with flimsy wings, and fluttered up to the house where shone the window panes and human faces. Nearer still the moths, the bat's little sisters, swarmed in wreaths. . . . In the air a great ring of insects assembled, whirling and playing as on the wheel of the harmonica. Zosia's ear could distinguish in the myriad hummings the chord of the tiny-flies and the false semitone of the gnats.

"In the fields the evening concert had scarcely begun. Now the musicians had ceased to tune up. The landrail had screamed thrice, the first violin of the meads. Then afar in the marshes, the bitterns had replied on the bass. Then the snipes as they soared and wheeled,

cried again and again like the insistent beating of little drums.

"As a finale to the murmurs of flies and the clamour of birds, the two ponds answered with double choirs, like the enchanted Caucasian mountain lakes, that are silent by day and play by night. One pond, translucent of wave and sandy of shore, gave out from its bosom a deep, solemn sigh. The other pond with its muddy depths and troubled voice replied with a cry of grief and passion. In both the ponds sang numberless hordes of frogs, both choirs uniting in two great chords. One sang fortissimo, but the other murmured softly. One seemed to complain, the other only to sigh. Thus over the fields the two ponds conversed like two Aeolian harps playing alternately."

The most famous passage in "Pan Tadeusz" is the description of the hunt and the playing of a horn by one of the hunters. The hunt is over and the sportsmen have gathered together in a picturesque group in a beautiful forest glade. The Tribune (*Wojski*) has with him a great buffalo horn, on which he is an expert player. He raises it aloft and produces a musical description of the chase, which is described by Mickiewicz in a beautiful, musical, simple Polish style. A quotation in English can show the grandeur of the scene and the music of the style, but it cannot show the beauty of the Polish words or the stately rhythm of the verse. The passage is like a musical symphony with its haunting repetitions, and its changes on a simple theme.

"He played. The horn, as a blast of wind, bore the music into the depths of the forest and the echoes repeated the sound. The huntsmen were dumb, and the coursers stood still, astounded by the power, the purity, the strange harmony of the strains. The old man unfolded once more to the hunters' ears all the art for which he was once famed in the forests. Soon he

filled, he awoke the oak groves and hunting grounds. 'Twas as though he let loose the hounds and started the chase, for there rang in his playing the whole tale of the chase. First a gay ringing call—the challenge. Then growling and whining—the cries of the hounds. And here and there sharper notes like thunder—the shots.

"Here he ceased, but the horn went on; it seemed to all that the Tribune was playing still, but it was the echo that played.

"And again he blew. You would think that the horn changed shape, that 'twixt the Tribune's lips it swelled and shrank, feigning the cries of wild beasts. Now long drawn, as the howl of the wolf, it cried long and shrill; again as it were a bear it opened wide its throat and roared. Then the bellowing of the aurochs tore the wind.

"Here he ceased, but the horn went on. It seemed to all that the Tribune was playing still, but it was the echo that played. Oak carried on the sound to oak, beech to beech.

"Again he blew, and it seemed as though within the horn were a hundred horns. You heard the mingled clamour of the chase, of anger, fear, the huntsmen, the hounds and beasts, till the Tribune raised the horn aloft and a hymn of triumph smote the skies.

"Here he ceased, but the horn went on. It seemed to all that the Tribune was playing still, but it was the echo that played. All the trees in the forest were so many horns that carried the song to each other as from choir to choir. The music travelled ever wider, ever farther, ever softer, ever purer, more perfect, till it died far off, somewhere afar on the threshold of Heaven."

The poem is the most treasured possession of the Polish race, and the scene is laid appropriately enough in the great year of Polish hopes 1812. There is a magnificent climax when the vanguard of Napoleon's

army appears with the famous Polish legions under the gallant Dombrowski. The freedom and unity of Poland and Lithuania are proclaimed, and the soldiers fraternise with the gentry in feasting and dancing. The poem ends in the familiar phraseology of the Polish fairy tale :

> And I myself was there with the guests ;
> I drank the wine and mead :
> And all that I saw and heard of the feast
> I have set forth for all to read.

After 1834 Mickiewicz never wrote again. In addition to his grief at the fall of his nation, he was driven to despair by domestic troubles, culminating in the madness of his wife. As he sat alone in his room in Paris, plunged in despair, there appeared to him a stranger with words of comfort and hope. This was the mystic and fanatic, Towiański, who played such a sinister part in the life of the Polish exiles. He gained complete control over the mind of Mickiewicz, as of Slowacki and Zaleski. The poet accepted his strange mystical, Messianic doctrines, which included a deification of the house of Buonaparte, and have their supporters even to-day in Poland. He was thought by some to be an agent of the Buonaparte interest, by others to be a Russian spy, sent to follow the Polish leaders abroad and sow dissension and demoralization among them. He was probably a quite honest mystic, half madman, half religious fanatic. He surprised Mickiewicz at a psychological moment when he was on the verge of suicide. He certainly gave him spiritual comfort and a new interest in life, but he completely paralysed his poetic inspiration ; and the poet did not shake off his fatal influence till near the end of his life. Mickiewicz had been elected to the Chair of Slavonic Literature at the Collège de France, and his lectures there attracted

great audiences, both among the Polish exiles and among the Frenchmen and foreigners in Paris, who were charmed by his eloquence and power of improvisation and by the novelty of his themes. All young Europe looked upon him as a prophet. Mazzini was his great admirer. Lamennais and Montalembert were his friends, and his lectures were attended by Quinet, Michelet, George Sand, Ste Beuve, Turgenev, the father of the Rossettis, disciples of Emerson, besides Czartoryski, Chopin and a host of Polish "emigrants." But he began to introduce into his lectures the ideas of Towianism, who was considered a charlatan by the French authorities. The mystic themes of his "angel of light" were gradually incorporated in his lectures by the poet, the idea of "columns of light" projected upwards from individual souls amid a dark world of sin. But the cult of Napoleon was more than a French audience of the forties could stand, and he was expelled from his post. After facing a period of poverty and adversity with intrepid courage, he greeted with hope the new revolutionary movement of 1848, and tried to raise Polish regions to help Italy. He shook off his Towianism and visited Rome in 1848. He resolved to make his peace with the Church. He solicited an interview with the Pope and greeted him with the words: "Behold the prodigal son," to which Pius IX., gratified at the reconciliation with the Church of so eminent a personage, is said to have replied: "The most beloved son." During the Crimean War, the French Government deputed him to raise a Polish Cossack regiment, to assist the Turks against Russia. He proceeded to Constantinople, where he died of cholera in 1855.

Mickiewicz was one of the great poets of European literature. And he was more than a poet, he was a prophet, the acknowledged head of a nation which was fated to undergo unheard of suffering. And yet through-

out the struggle, he kept a serenity and steady hopefulness such as no other Pole could attain. He was the chief of that wonderful generation which preserved the Polish tradition through those years of despair, and handed it on to the freer generation that followed. Although his creative activity only lasted fourteen years, from his twenty-second to his thirty-sixth year, he produced in that time a number of masterpieces which raised Polish literature to the heights. He was a pioneer, yet he was also the great master, a lofty soul, the incarnation of the artistic genius of the Polish race.

The second of the great trio of poets, Zygmunt Krasiński, was born in 1812 of an ancient and aristocratic family, his mother being a Radziwill. In addition to grief at the loss of his country, he had a personal reason for bitterness, which clouded all his life. When the Polish revolution broke out, his father sided with the Russian Government, and the family were regarded as traitors by the Poles. Zygmunt, a sensitive and intensely patriotic boy, took this to heart; and it cast a gloom over his youth. Belonging to a strong aristocratic and Catholic family, he was more overwhelmed by the social struggle of the day than his brother poets. The rise of democracy, the spread of unbelief, and above all the moral fall of many of the Polish exiles, who felt they had nothing left to live for—all these factors turned him to the social and moral aspect of the dispersion of the Poles; and he found the only hope for suffering humanity in faith and love.

His first poem (written when he was only twenty-one) is perhaps his finest. This great work, "The Undivine Comedy," written in the form of a drama, represents the struggle between the principles of Aristocracy and Democracy. Secondly, it contrasts mere imaginative poetry with poetry of feeling and love, and is, in part, a satire on the character of the old Polish gentry, who

combined with their brilliance and chivalry a dreamy nature far removed from reality, and a barren and fantastic imagination. But what is to take the place of the old Order? The excesses and horrors of the French Revolution and the wild schemes of the followers of St Simon in his own day, filled the poet with dread for the future. He thought that Europe was on the brink of a terrible catastrophe, as in the last days of the Roman Empire. He saw the fall of the old Order, the Church and the Aristocracy, but saw no new order to take its place. The hero of the drama, Count Henry, is a nobleman of ancient lineage and a poet, but he lives in a world of dreams and in actual life is "an everlasting zero." Reality seems to him something common and abhorrent, unworthy of his attention. He has no sense of any duty to society, he lives in a world of fantasy, and has no real love for anyone but himself. His evil spirit is his poetic fantasy which appears in the form of a beautiful maiden, for whom he deserts his own wife. Krasiński satirizes only false poetry, not poetry based on love and truth, such as he recognized in the work of his friend Mickiewicz.

In the drama he makes use of all the romantic machinery. Good and evil spirits appear, as in Faust; the air is full of voices. The first half of the drama deals with the personal and domestic tragedy of the hero. The whole struggle between the life of love and the life of the imagination is worked out with great brilliancy. In the whole play there is an economy of words, a succession of short symbolical sentences that make it a consummate masterpiece. The hero begins to desert his wife for his muse, and says: "From the day of my marriage I have lived a life of torpor, the life of a glutton, the life of a German manufacturer by the side of his German wife." When he returns to find his wife in an asylum he raves, but even in his despair

he assumes a pose: "All that I have touched, I have destroyed." Suddenly a voice says: "It is a drama thou dost compose"; and he realizes that he is making a poem of his misery.

The second part of the poem deals with the social drama. The old Order is being attacked by the mob. But in the Democracy, too, the poet sees no hope for the future. Its leaders are one Leonard, a fanatical prophet, a political and social doctrinaire, clever and wise, but absolutely heartless, and, secondly, Pancracy, an atheist, the incarnation of the social revolution, but a man who has ceased to believe in himself, who struggles on to victory with a bitter scorn for his own allies. The third is a bluff general, Bianchetti, who is destined to become dictator in the anarchy that succeeds the fall of the Aristocracy. In the demagogues Krasiński finds the same fault as in Count Henry—an absence of love and goodwill. The last act is powerfully drawn: A lofty rocky eminence, on which tower the castle and the cathedral, the last refuge of the old Order. Count Henry is in charge of the defenders—"his last song," he calls it. Underneath, among the mists, is heard the vague hum and tumult of the mob hastening with arms and torches to the attack. One can compare this picture with the clamour and turmoil of Chopin's revolutionary *étude*. The drama ends with the fall of the fortress; and Count Henry ends his "last poem" by hurling himself from the heights. Pancracy is victorious, but in the middle of his triumph he sees a vision in the heavens, and dies with the words: "Galilæe Vicisti!"

The drama is remarkable for its atmospheres, which make the short sentences glow with meaning. The introduction is a remarkable piece of poetic prose, mysterious, poetical, and of striking originality:

"Stars about thy head—beneath thy feet the waves

of the sea—on the waves before thee a rainbow shimmers and scatters the mists. What thou beholdest is thine—the shores, the cities, the folk belong to thee—the heavens are thine—with thy glory none can compare.

"Thou playest to men's ears ineffable delights—thou dost weave hearts and unweave them, like a garland, with the play of thy fingers—thou dost draw forth tears—thou dost dry them with a smile—and again thou dost strike the smile from their lips for a while—for a season—maybe for ever. But what feelest thou thyself? What dost thou create? What are thy thoughts. Through thee floweth a stream of beauty, but *thou* art not beauty. Woe to thee! Woe! The child that crieth on its nurse's breast, the flower of the meadow that knoweth not its own fragrance, hath greater service before God than thou.

"Whence didst thou rise, dark shade that givest to others to know the light, but the light thou knowest not, hast not seen? Who created thee in wrath or irony? Who gave thee thine abject life, so seductive that thou canst feign an Angel, the moment before thou dost plunge in the mire, before, like a reptile, thou dost go to grovel and choke in the slime. Thy frailty is like unto woman."

There is a wonderful atmosphere on the mountain tops, in the scene between the poet and his Muse-maiden. The last scene in the castle is sublime as a representation of the glory and beauty of the old Order that is perishing.

Though many things have changed since then, the subject of the drama is still of living interest. The principles represented are in conflict in all ages, and, whether we side with County Henry as representing Art for art's sake, or with Pancracy as struggling for

the great ideals of Democracy, or whether (like the poet) we condemn them both, the drama must fascinate us by its sublime setting of eternal forces in conflict. Krasiński gives no solution to the problems raised, except that no society can be founded on hate, but must be based on love and goodwill to all men. The drama is negative, the work of a period of revolt and despair. The poet's own views on the solution of these problems are worked out in his later works wherein his intensity, his moral fervour, his revolt against conventional standards, and his determination to work out his own and his country's salvation, make him the chief representative of pure Polish romanticism, in the same way that Milton represents Puritan England and Tolstoy nineteenth-century Russia.

His later works, especially the Psalms of Life, have the same despair, but the despairing questions are answered by words of hope and comfort. His poetical work ends with his haunting poem, "Resurrecturis" (To those who will rise again), in which he expressed the whole position of the divided Poles.

It begins:

> This world is a graveyard of tears, blood, and mire.
> This world is to every man an everlasting Golgotha.
> In vain the spirit writhes
> Under the goad of pain:
> In the storm of life
> There is no haven here.
> Fate mocks us the while,
> And drives the valiant into the abyss,
> The saintly perish—the kindly ones perish,
> Only the dauntless live.

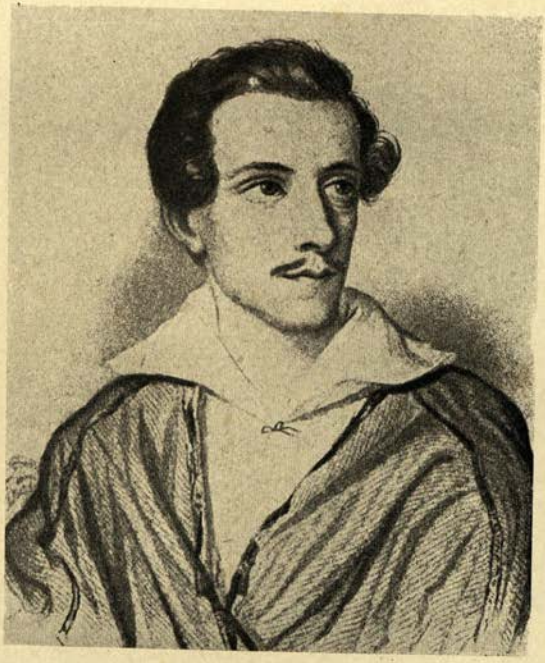
But the poem ends with a triumphant pæan of hope and faith:

> But thy thoughts,
> Neither men nor deeds can hold them.

Neither lies nor delusions,
Neither genius nor praise,
Neither kings nor peoples.
And on the third day
O'er the grave of thy torment,
Out of the flood of events,
Over the abyss of calamities,
The unborn shall be born.
Justice shall arise."

If Mickiewicz, with his serenity, his simplicity and his love of nature, reminds us of Wordsworth, Slowacki, the third great poet, is very like Shelley. Julius Slowacki, born in 1809, in appearance exactly like Chopin, with large liquid eyes, finely chiselled features and sensitive artistic mouth, led the stormiest life of the three poets. He left Poland with the great exodus of 1831, and led the life of a pure artist, travelling, writing, quarrelling, declaiming, falling in love. For beauty of form, power of rhythm, fire, and passion, his shorter poems are the most supreme works of art in the Polish language; and he has had more influence on his successors than any of the other poets. His longest work, "King Spirit," is a mystical poem, describing the soul of Poland and its incarnation in various heroes throughout the ages. Another long poem, "Beniowski," written in *Ottavarima*, is modelled on Beppo and Don Juan, like Pushkin's "Eugene Onegin." He wrote a series of dramas, some of which have been acted on the stage. But his greatest works are his shorter lyrics. One lyric called "In Switzerland" is a love idyll, a poem of cloying beauty, but vague and mysterious, with magnificent descriptions of Swiss scenery. It resembles Shelley's "Sensitive Plant" in its music and the vagueness of its meaning. Another poem, "The Father of the Plague-stricken," is a tragedy. An Arab with his wife and family pitches his tent on the shores of the Mediterranean before entering Egypt.

ADAM MICKIEWICZ



JULIUS SLOWACKI

There the plague appears and, one by one, his children are stricken and die in agony. Finally his wife dies, and he is left alone. The picture is quite simply drawn, but with immense power and beauty. He is left, a solitary figure, on the shore "where the sea no longer murmurs but moans," where strange voices wail in the air, and the sun itself, that had shone so brightly on his children, now appears as a grim red phantom and mocks him. He raves and calls, in derision or resignation, "Allah Akbar, Allah, thou art great." Then he strikes his tent, sets off, alone for ever; and the desert swallows him. The poem is a perfect work of art, and the tragic atmosphere is as powerful as in the "Laocoon."

Slowacki died at the age of thirty-three. But, short as all their lives were, the work of the three great poets was accomplished. They had created a magnificent literature, that was taken up by a host of successors; and that Polish culture to-day stands at such a high level—with artists like Paderewski, singers like the De Reszkes, actors like Modjeska, novelists like Sienkiewicz, scientists like Mme Curie—is due to the noble courage of the three prophets who upheld the national ideal in the thirties and forties of last century, and enlarged and beautified the literature and philosophy of the Polish people. The great Polish poems were written in exile, in an atmosphere of grief, regret and despair—often leading to madness—and not the least bitter part of their fate was the consciousness among the Polish gentry of their own share in bringing about their downfall. This period coincides also with the rise of democracy and nationality in Europe; and in this great movement the Poles took a large share, since among them national feeling had never sunk out of sight. The chief *motif* in these Polish poets is that of suffering, and this led to mysticism. The realities of this world were too terrible to be faced; so that ideal worlds of religion,

morality and justice must be formed. Out of this feeling developed the strange Messianic idea, that Poland, like Christ, had been crucified to save the nations, and that Poland would rise again from her ashes in a new world of freedom and justice. This idea has been compared to that of the Russian Slavofils, that Western civilization had resulted in decay and only the pure Slavonic ideals of Holy Russia could save Europe. Fantastic as the idea itself is, it has a certain basis in historical fact. Poland did fall in an age of injustice, and her fall played some considerable part in turning men's minds towards the question of nationality. To-day, Europe, in fighting for the principles of nationality, has turned its attention once more to the Polish question. The Poles, in a way, formed the conscience of Europe, so that national as it is, their poetry has a great place in the universal movements of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XIII

MODERN CURRENTS IN POLISH LITERATURE

POLAND, like most Western nations, had its Golden Age of literature at the Renaissance. After some experiments, classical ideals became supreme, but these too passed away, in 1820. Romanticism arose, flourished, declined, and almost disappeared during the insurrection of 1863. A few writers lived on from the romantic age, novelists like Kraszewski, the Polish Dumas père, whose facile pen had produced a mass of historical novels and books of every kind, in order to drive out the widely-read French romances. The veteran of romanticism, Milkowski, continued to write down to the twentieth century; and, above all, the artist Matejko continued to paint his pictures of Poland's historical past. But a new movement grew up after 1863, of which the leader was Alexander Świentochowski, who translated Buckle, Darwin, Mill and Spencer, and spread far and wide the principles of Utilitarianism and Positivism, stirring the Poles by his gospel of "work at the foundations" in industry and social life, and creating a school of Western rationalistic liberalism, to oppose the incurable romanticism of the last fifty years. The same battle between the old and young which Turgenev had depicted in the struggle between Bazarov and Kirsanov, began in Poland. Hegelian philosophy and romantic poetry were abandoned for science and for social and philanthropical work. The task of forming a middle class from the

ruined gentry, of getting into touch with the peasants, and of taking part in the rising industrialism, absorbed the energies of the new generation. The dissipation of national energy, the waste of valuable life in the recent insurrection, forced the nation to husband and develop all its resources, national and intellectual alike. Science and social problems were discussed by everyone, and Świentochowski led the movement in his own writings. He developed his liberal and positivist ideas in the Press. He founded the "Prawda" (Truth), which became the exponent of radical ideas in politics, and, later on, the journal "Humanista," and the Society of Polish Culture. He wrote much in a cold, scientific, logical style; but his most valuable works, from the point of view of literature, were his short stories and dramas, such as "Aspasia," written in his clear, beautiful prose style, and showing the free cultured life of Athens in the fifth century B.C. Mr Świentochowski was a freethinker and a philo-Semite, and has remained down to our own day the great champion of reason and liberty. He continually inveighed with eloquence and conviction against the prevalent beliefs of his day; he strove to throw off the fetters of priestcraft, caste prejudice and national arrogance which hampered the free development of progress and liberty. "After us," he writes, "move files of tutelary spirits, unseen but ever present, with volumes of laws, with chains of custom and with tokens of prejudice. All these spirits watch over us, bind us, hamper us, and, in our moments of sincerity, lay their fingers on our lips and silence us. Before this vigilant retinue never can two men escape; only sometimes an individual may avoid them, when he remains alone with his thoughts."

The great feature of this period of discussion was the rise of the novel, the most natural medium for dealing with the problems of the time, as poetry had been to

express the romance and fantasy of the preceding age. The two great novelists of the Positivist period were Eliza Orzeszkowa and Alexander Glowacki, commonly known by his pseudonym, "Prus." Orzeszkowa wrote a number of lengthy novels dealing with the social problems and progressive ideals of the day. She treats of the Jewish question in "Meir Ezofowicz," and of the life of her native Lithuanian land in "On the Niemen." She was the first Polish writer to discuss the rising ideas of Socialism. Younger than her, and much greater as a writer, was "Prus," whose genius could not be limited by the rationalistic ideas of his day. In his wide outlook on life, his refusal to ignore the bitterest realities, his desire to reform, and withal his humour and resilient optimism, "Prus" closely resembles our own Dickens, with whom he is usually compared. His early tales deal with the new factory life growing up in Poland, and, in "The Returning Wave," he portrays this life with great feeling. Some of his short stories are humorous, others gloomy; all show the broad humanity that is his chief characteristic. His first great novel, "The Outpost" (*Placówka*), deals with peasant life. It shows the stubborn struggle of the Polish peasant in Prussia, to keep his land from the German colonists. "Prus" is quite fair to the Germans; he does not satirize them. But he shows all the prejudices of his age in his attitude to the gentry. One of the most magnificent pictures in the book is the scene where a labourer stands in the snow, holding the child of his peasant employer in his arms, while a fantastic procession of gentlemen and ladies defile past them in fancy dress on their way to a ball, escorted by liveried lackeys with torches. The story abounds in grim realism, and does not attempt to gloze over the ignorance of the peasant, but shows him as a human being, backward and weak, but tenacious

of his land, with his own family interests and occupations, and, in the end, ruined but triumphant. In his next novel, "The Doll," "Prus" deals with life in the town, with the labyrinth of a haughty young lady's mind, against a rich background of characterization. His last great book, "Pharaoh" (*Faraon*), where the scene is laid in ancient Egypt, is not so much an historical work as a novel method of discussing social and political problems. It describes a young ruler who attempts to inaugurate an era of justice and freedom in a conservative community that will not accept them. In these novels, "Prus" embodied all the ideas of his age, but he goes beyond them in the intensity of his feeling, and writes with all the imaginative fervour of the newer ideals that were destined to triumph in his own lifetime.

In Cracow there was no great literature during this period. The reaction against romanticism was more violent there than in Warsaw, and liberal ideas were thrown into the shade by a rigid Conservatism, which put its faith in religion and the policeman. But science developed rapidly round the old University and the new Academy of Sciences; and the historians of the Cracow School did valuable work in studying documents and unfolding the facts of Polish history. In Prussia, the bitter struggle against Germanization was just beginning, and there was no time for the cultivation of art or literature. Warsaw, then, had become the literary centre of Poland, and in Warsaw Positivism remained supreme through the seventies and eighties of last century. But poetry had not died out. It had lost its romantic finery and its national inspiration. Adam Asynk was the chief of a number of isolated poets who kept alive ideals of beauty, but in a more individual and intellectual way than their predecessors. Smoothness and facility, together with a fine sense of beauty

and inspiration, make Asnyk comparable to our own Tennyson. Besides the great novelists, there were a number of lesser writers of whom the most interesting was Adolf Dygasiński, who turned to animal life for his themes, combining natural observation with fantastic imagination. His tales of the life of the wren, of the relations of a wolf to a man, and his hymns to the sun, are all original and inspired. Some of them provoke comparisons with Kipling's animal stories. Among the poets, Marya Konopnicka is an eminent figure. True to the social tendencies of the day, she treats of peasant life, and her greatest poem, "Mr Balcer in Brazil," is an epic of peasant life, comparable to the description of the gentry in "Pan Tadeusz." But alongside her realistic treatment of the peasant, Miss Konopnicka's poems are marked by a revival of feeling and imagination. Her poems on the Polish country and her Italian sonnets show a movement back towards romantic poetry.

But positivism had not gained a permanent place in Polish literature. It was of great importance to Polish society politically, and left a certain stamp on Polish literature that has modified it profoundly in the direction of sanity, of charity and humanity. But it was not a natural channel for the expression of Polish ideas; and in the eighties it began to recede. The Polish gentry, decimated by the Insurrection, and numbed by despair and failure, were now beginning to turn once more towards their past traditions and to throw off the shackles of pessimism that the intellectual leaders of Cracow and Warsaw had thrown over them. They began to pick up the sundered threads of the past, to seek the lost inspiration of their poets, and to find some more hopeful elements in their past history. This new atmosphere gave Henryk Sienkiewicz the opportunity for developing his genius. He had hitherto written short works on progressive and democratic

subjects. He now took advantage of the growing reaction against positivism; and in 1884 there appeared "With Fire and Sword" (*Ogniem i Mieczem*), followed by "The Deluge" (*Potop*) and "Pan Wolodyowski,"—together forming a trilogy of historical novels that revolutionized Polish ideas of the past. The author used widely the Memoirs of a certain John Pasek, a Polish gentleman of the seventeenth century, who describes the picturesque life of the gentry of the Ukraine at the time of the Cossack revolts and the great, disastrous wars of that time. He created a national epic, with a coherent plot of absorbing interest, based on close historical study, accurate in its facts, though biassed in its views. Sienkiewicz re-created an ideal of Polish chivalry and romance, that had long been forgotten during the period of French influence, in the democratic theories of Lelewel and in the pessimistic condemnation of Polish ideals by the Cracow school. About the same time, Professor Korzon was also reviving the past in his works on Sobieski, Kościuszko, "War and military affairs," and on the great reformers under Stanislaw August. But Sienkiewicz was far more popular, not only from the greatness of his theme, his facility and the grand style in which he presented his subject, but, above all, for his inimitable power of vivid characterization, whether of historical personages or of fictitious heroes like Zagloba, a Polish Falstaff, Skrzetuski, Bohun and the fair Helena. He paints a whole epoch with glowing colours, an age of glory and courtesy combined with violence and plunder. He depicts deeds of valour like the defence of Zbaraž, the ceremonious and courteous chivalry of fair women and brave men, the deeds of statesmen and generals of a great civilized people. But alongside these figures he portrays the tragic desolation of a rich smiling land, under Tartar cruelty and Cossack depravity. In order to get a true balance, an

Englishman should read Gogol's "Tarass Bulba" which shows the Cossack point of view. But for all its chauvinism, the "Trilogy" is one of the greatest historical novels of the world, the work on which the author's reputation in Polish literature is chiefly based. Later on, Sienkiewicz wrote another historical novel, "The Crusaders," describing the wars of Poland in the middle ages with the Teutonic Order in Prussia. It is not so powerful as the "Trilogy," but full of interest and careful historical study. It is the only work of fiction that attempts to give a picture of Jagiello and his times, and remains, beside Matejko's picture of Grunwald, as a monument of that Polish romanticism that is only equalled in literature by Sir Walter Scott. Lastly, there is the famous novel "Quo Vadis," in which Sienkiewicz turned to the Roman Empire for his scenery. But even here, there is a strong national interest for the Poles that has not been noticed abroad, but which has inspired some fine pictures by Polish artists. The whole position of the Christians, with their underground life and their intense faith, was exactly like the life of the Poles under foreign rule. The slave hero is a Sarmatian from central Europe, *i.e.* a Pole. Lastly, the magnificent description of St Peter gives the book a strong religious interest to fervent Catholic readers. "Quo Vadis" has been popularized and cheapened by bad translations and still feebler dramatizations. But in Polish, it is a great book, revealing an intimate knowledge of the period, and teeming with powerful description and characterization, rich with glowing images of a picturesque period. It has been translated into more languages, and is better known than any other book save the Bible; and the author has justly been awarded the Nobel prize for literature. Sienkiewicz also wrote other novels, "Without Dogma," a study of love and Slavonic futility, comparable to Goncharov's "Oblomov"; and

"The Family of Polaniecki," a rather confused attempt to describe all the ideas of contemporary life. Sienkiewicz travelled over Africa and has used his experience for another novel; while a visit to the United States inspired many of his shorter stories. Sienkiewicz is a master of the short story, and his numerous experiments in this field reveal his skill in the delineation of character, his humour and his broad humanity at their highest. Some of his stories are merely short sketches, like the pathetic story "The Lighthouse Keeper"; others are longer and more profound. The best of them is "Bartek the Conqueror," the tale of a Polish peasant from Prussia who fights against the French in 1870 with great distinction, and later on is driven out of his land by an ungrateful government. His interview with Steinmetz after one of the Prussian victories is magnificent. "Who has won this battle?" asks the General. "I, your Excellency," answers Bartek. "Who are these French we are fighting?" continues Steinmetz. Bartek ponders for a time, and then remembers a description of them given by a brother peasant. "Oh, they're also damned Germans—only worse." Sienkiewicz died just too late to see the resurrection of his country, of which he was the best known and most eminent representative. He was held in honour and esteem by all the world, even by the enemies of Poland—a great artist, a great man and a fervent patriot.

The last twenty years of the nineteenth century form a period of great confusion in Polish, as in other, literatures. Besides the writers of the declining Positivist movement and the reviving protagonists of romanticism, there are several threads of thought, crossing and recrossing, in such a way that it is difficult to disentangle them. Perhaps the main thread may be found in the powerful reaction against bourgeois

ideals, inspired partly by a resurgence of national feeling, but chiefly by foreign influence. The position of Poland now brought her into closer contact with the literatures of Germany and Russia, and with more general European movements. Turgenev, Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky became known in Poland. The German realistic movement, Zola with his naturalism and pessimism, above all, Ibsen with his revival of the drama and his social iconoclasm—all these movements are felt in Poland and have led to a great outburst of literary activity. Moreover literary criticism is brought to a high position in the writings of Count Tarnowski of Cracow, Spasowicz, an admirer of Wielopolski and an adherent of the policy of conciliation, who lived in Russia and wrote prolifically on many subjects, and Peter Chmielowski, the great Warsaw critic, a positivist and an incisive and powerful writer. A great number of younger critics followed them, and began to study the earlier Polish literature, while philologists studied the language in past ages, and systematized the grammar. Brukner at Berlin, Nehring at Breslau, Baudouin de Courtenay at Petrograd, all carried out great literary and philological researches. Malecki and Kryński in philology, and Kallenbach, Chlebowski, Galle, Zdziechowski, Feldman and Chrzanowski in criticism, are the chief names of the period. The greatest of the newer writers clung to the novel. Chief among them was Żeromski, whose powerful pen describes the suffering and pessimism of his time—the nearest figure in Polish literature to the great Russian novelists. He realizes vividly the ubiquitous presence of evil in the universe, so powerful a phenomenon that a sense of duty alone constitutes heroism in modern life. His novels, "Ashes," "Ahriman avenges himself," and "Homeless Folk," are tragically gloomy, and his characters dwell in an atmosphere intolerably sinister and grey. The vain

attempts to acquire knowledge under the deplorable Russian school system, are powerfully shown in his novel "A work of Sisyphus." His short stories are exquisite in style and full of atmosphere. The second great modern novelist is Mr Reymont, a peasant from Prussian Poland, who has described the joys and sorrows of life in the Polish village, in his realistic work "Peasants." His is an elemental nature, full of a love of mankind and of natural scenery: he shows a patriotism based on love of the soil rather than on any national idea. He is still in the flower of his age, and has yet a great career before him. Mr Sieroszewski, a socialist, who lived some years in exile in Siberia, is now becoming known all over Europe. He paints the indomitable strength of man in his struggle against nature, in a series of powerful short stories, chiefly describing Siberian life and scenery. His works show virility, humanity and a deep faith in man. Mrs Zapolska deals with sexual tragedies and the neurotic life of the city, with intense and gloomy realism.

The reaction against positivism and sociology culminated in the great artistic revival of the nineties, which involved a return to poetry and to the drama, and a great revival of painting. The movement arose both in Warsaw, under the influence of "Miriam" (Przesmycki), a thinker and artist who outlined a new cultural movement, and in Cracow, where Ludwik Szczepański founded the weekly journal, "Life," in 1897. This new movement was partly inspired by foreign literary tendencies. Przesmycki, for instance, who, though he has not himself written anything of first rate importance, is one of its inspirers, began by translating Maeterlinck's works. A number of poets, nearly all born in the sixties, took up various poetical tendencies of the time—decadentism, symbolism and so forth—and produced a mass of poetry of the first

order, the general tendencies of which may be summed up in the phrase "art for art's sake," or in their own name of modernism. One feature of the movement was a return to the inspiration of Slowacki. There was a general feeling that knowledge, the ideal of the positivists, could not alone solve all the problems of human life. In their search for something more ideal and for some more perfect medium of expression, the young poets started a cult for Slowacki, that master of poetic form and of idealism. That "fatal force," that Slowacki speaks of in his "Testament," which will "transform you, ye eaters of bread, into angels," that "King spirit" which he had traced through its evolution in Polish history, had survived the age of discussion, and was now resuscitated in a new age of imagination and feeling. Casimir Tetmajer was one of the first poets to join the modernist movement, and he has given Polish literature a series of beautiful lyrics and, more recently, some novels, dealing with the life and natural scenery of the Tatra mountains where he lives, in which a vivid feeling for natural scenery is combined with a harmony of language and felicity of style that marked a complete change from the positivist ideals of his predecessors. After Tetmajer there appeared Jan Kasprowicz, the greatest modern lyric poet of Poland. Born of peasant stock in Kujawia, where Chopin first heard the Polish folk melodies and dances, he found that the struggle in Prussia gave no scope for the development of his poetic abilities. So he migrated to Galicia, where he wrote his chief works. Kasprowicz has embodied in Polish poetry the spirit of the peasant class from which he is sprung. He has all the tenacity and faith of the peasant, but in portraying the life of the Polish village, he does not attempt to idealize it. He takes village life as he knows it, but he shows all its robust strength, its stalwart courage and faith. Modern social and

national problems appear in his works, as seen from the point of view of an eager mind, thirsting for knowledge, confronted with a chaos of warring ideas and aspirations. He has studied foreign poetry, and in particular has made some magnificent translations from English, especially of Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley and Keats. There is in his writings a wide cosmopolitan spirit, but the foundation is laid on reminiscences and pictures of an early life spent among Polish peasants. A deep gloom and a tragic irony are visible in his later works; and one feels deeply the disillusionment that awaits the crowds of peasants and workers now flocking to take their place in the laboratories of learning. But an invincible faith is the undercurrent of his work, and in his "Hymns" and other writings, he reveals himself as the greatest lyric poet of modern Poland.

Another writer from Great Poland who has been forced to emigrate, in order to write, is Stanislaw Przybyszewski. He settled first in Berlin and wrote his first works in German—an almost unique course for a Pole to take. But he was soon attracted by his native land, and returned to join the literary movement at Cracow. He succeeded to the editorship of the weekly "Life," and stamped his individuality on the whole movement, of which he became the leading spirit. He was one of the leaders in the revival of the drama, and his plays have been applauded both in Germany and in Poland. He devoted to Polish literature a keen intellect and a profundity of thought, a deep love for beauty, a gospel of art for art's sake, and the belief that the spirit is far more essential to literature than the brain. His works were the expression of his artistic ideas, and he handled many questions, particularly sex problems, with boldness and power. His period of production was short, and he has ceased to write to-day, but his influence as the leader of modernism is permanent,

HENRYK SIENKIEWICZ

STANISŁAW WYSPIAŃSKI

and in "By the Sea" and other works he has written some of the masterpieces of Polish literature.

But the revival of poetry and the drama did not alone satisfy the aspirations of the greater Polish writers. The influence of foreign writers was displeasing to many patriots, and a gradual change came over the poets like Tetmajer, and the writers on peasant subjects like Reymont and Kasprowicz. We have seen that Polish literature was branching out in many directions, and that alongside the positivist school, the modernists and the early romantic poets, there was growing up a new romantic movement, less fantastic and exuberant than the earlier movement, touched with the sanity and self-criticism of the positivists, and brought down to earth by the common sense of the peasant writers. This neo-romanticism was preached by Stanislaw Szczepanowski at Cracow, but its great exponent was Stanislaw Wyspiański, the greatest literary genius produced by modern Poland. He was a painter of great skill and talent, but his chief task lay in the revival of the drama and in the intense national feeling which he brought back into literature. He drew his ideal of the stage from many sources. He studied the ancient Greek drama, and tried to bring back to the stage its original atmosphere of religion. He drew inspiration and ideas from Ibsen, from the young German dramatists and from the operas of Wagner. In fact, he attempted to combine the Greek ideal of religion or fate with the epic treatment by Wagner of German myth as in "The Ring," and of German history as in "The Meistersingers"; and he produced his plays in the spirit of impressive simplicity and dramatic unity that recent European experiments had evolved. He was a brilliant painter, with a keen sense both of form and of colour, and he aimed at producing artistic harmony by the background and grouping of his dramas,

as well as by their literary and dramatic qualities. Further, Wyspiański was in deep sympathy with the greatest social and political movement of his day, the advance of the Polish peasant. Yet he did not idealize him. He treated him as he actually was—as the most important factor in Polish life, a factor with immense potentialities, but as yet backward and ignorant. And all round his dramas he weaves a mantle of beauty, a romantic glamour, that show his kinship with Slowacki. His early dramas dealt with Greek themes: "Meleager" and "Laodamia." Then came his national dramas which were a revelation to his contemporaries. He went far back into history in "Boleslaw" and "Casimir the Great." But in "The Wedding" he produced his greatest work, a drama of contemporary life, yet united by golden threads of imagination to the past of Poland. The scene is laid at a wedding, a festival that plays a great part in Polish folk lore. A gentleman is marrying a peasant girl, and a brilliant gathering of gentlemen and peasant guests has assembled. In the middle of the feast a number of phantom figures from the past appear, each guest calling up some special phantom that is most congenial to him. Finally, there appears the prophet, Wernyhora, a sage who had prophesied the resurrection of Poland. He has despaired of the Polish gentry and presents his golden horn to the peasant, Jasiek, as the incarnation of the spirit of the new Poland. But the feather-headed peasant does not realize the value of the Polish tradition that has been thus symbolically entrusted to him. He loses the horn. The scene ends in the triumph of the *Chochol*, the spirit of mockery, who sings a dainty melody of satire and gaiety, and the drama ends in a revel. The beauty and vivacity of the drama, the majestic procession of stately phantoms from the past, and the gloom of reality that lies behind the symbolism of the action, make this

play one of the masterpieces of European dramatic literature. It ends on a note of disillusionment. But unconquerable faith in the future of Poland is the keynote of the next drama, "Resurrection," where the figure of Mickiewicz is evoked, to assure the modern generation that the foundations of Poland are being firmly laid. There is no space here to discuss the other great dramas of Wyspiański, "Legion," "The Night of November"—and so forth. The poet and painter, who, like all the great modern writers, was born in the sixties, died prematurely in 1907, and was mourned by the whole nation at a magnificent funeral in Cracow. He left a great tradition, and since his time, neo-romanticism has been the watchword of Polish literature. His successors, especially Mr Miciński, have produced works of a high artistic value, and Polish literature to-day reveals extraordinary vitality and achievement, and, were it better known, would take a far higher position in European culture than it has hitherto held.

CHAPTER XIV

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

ENTERING into the community of civilized nations at a late date, Poland took no part in the early mediæval intellectual movements. But by the fourteenth century the Polish upper class had already come into line with their Western contemporaries; and the foundation of Cracow University in 1364, and its reorganization by Jagiello in 1400 on the model of the Sorbonne, gave Poland one of the most brilliant intellectual centres of Europe. Philosophy and theology flourished there, and Polish ecclesiastics played a leading part in the Councils of Constance and Basel. Humanistic studies appeared in the fifteenth century, and a school of history began with the eminent figure of Dlugosz. Science and medicine were also studied, and in particular, astronomic studies made great progress, culminating in the work of Nicholas Copernicus of Toruń, who studied at Cracow, Bologna and Padua, and finally returned to become a professor at Cracow University. Poland took a leading part in the literary and scientific movements of the Renaissance. Protestant and Catholic theology competed freely in Poland, with such men as John Laski on the Protestant side, Skarga on the Jesuit side, and more independent thinkers like Orzechowski and the Socini brothers who had settled in Poland. Cardinal Hosius played a leading part as one of the Presidents at the Council of Trent. The success of the counter-reforma-

tion, however, was complete, and under the Jesuit monopoly, liberal studies declined, and there was a complete intellectual stagnation.

But a great intellectual revival took place in the eighteenth century, closely associated with the revival of education. The movement arose from several sources. The exiled king, Stanislaw Lezsczyński, from his court at Nancy, preached reform, and educated a band of Polish exiles in the manners and learning of the Court of Versailles. A love of learning revived in Poland itself, and such learned bibliophils as the Bishop Zaluski amassed large scientific and literary collections. The Zaluski library was probably the greatest collection of books in Europe, numbering over 400,000 volumes, and it offered a rich material for the new scientific investigators of the period. After 1764 the King Poniatowski, a great patron of art and learning, inaugurated several artistic and literary movements, and founded a Cadet Corps for the education of the sons of the Polish gentry. But the cradle of modern Polish learning was in the new schools. The great educational pioneer, Konarski, first instituted schools where modern studies, as well as patriotism and morality, were taught in the Polish language. The change from the backward Jesuit schools, with their arid theology, their dull Latin rhetoric and their brutal punishments, was enormous. The reform took place in a few schools at first, but became universal after the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773. The enlightened Polish reformers devoted the confiscated wealth of the Order exclusively to education, and modern Poland owes everything—its very existence—to the small band of reformers who laid the basis of an educational system in the later eighteenth century. It was Chreptowicz, a reformer of peasant conditions and a leading figure in politics, who suggested the formation of an Educa-

tional Commission, which became the first Ministry of National Education in Europe. The work of founding schools, and of reforming the universities of Cracow and Vilna, was performed by Hugo Kollontaj, one of the most enlightened and brilliant men of his age. Handbooks and scholastic curricula were written and arranged by such men as Piramowicz and Kopczyński, whose grammar became a classic work to the rising generation, especially the moral and patriotic precepts embodied in it: "We are not made for ourselves alone; a part of us belongs to our friends and the other part to our country." All Europe was called on to contribute to the new intellectual movement. Condillac wrote a book on "Logic," Lhuiller on arithmetic and geometry; while Rousseau and Mably were asked to submit plans for constitutional reform. The secondary schools of Poland were among the best in Europe; and parish schools also were created for the peasants. The whole Jesuit system of learning by heart, of Latinism, and of flogging gave place to a modern scheme of examinations; and courses in all modern subjects were substituted for Latin and theology.

The intellectual movement of the time centred in the reformed university of Vilna, which is the source of all modern Polish learning. The brothers Śniadecki taught mathematics, physics and astronomy there. Lelewel taught history, and extended his subject to include geography, ethnography and political science, in which he was a pioneer of general European importance. His ethnographical maps, like those of the Czech, Šafařyk, created a new department of history. He founded a school of historians, and is regarded as the father of modern Polish history, though his work is out-of-date to-day owing to the more scientific labours of his successors. Vilna University, during its short period of activity from 1781 to 1831, when it was closed

by the Russian authorities, was the chief centre of Polish learning, and among its most brilliant students it counted Mickiewicz, Slowacki and Kraszewski. Lithuania owes a great deal to the liberal spirit of Alexander I., who appointed Adam Czartoryski as the Curator of all the educational system of Lithuania and the Ukraine. Under Czartoryski and Czacki, a network of Polish schools was spread all over the country, and a second university was founded in Volhynia at Krzemeniec.

Meanwhile in Poland proper the work of the Educational Commission was rudely interrupted by the Partitions. Poland came for over ten years under Prussian rule. But the educational system revived in the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Poland (1807-31). The lead in this movement was taken by the great genius and energy of Staszyc, the reformer, whose energy and pertinacy were boundless. The Ministry of Education developed a fresh system of Polish schools, especially for elementary education, so that by 1817 there were 137 secondary and 868 popular schools. Moreover the intellectual revival continued to grow. The Society of the Friends of Learning was founded in 1800 by Staszyc, who became its first President, and built for it a magnificent palace in Warsaw. Staszyc himself, apart from his public life, was a scholar and scientist. He wrote a "Treatise on Geology"; and his great geological and hydrographic map of the Polish republic is one of the earliest and most comprehensive works of the kind in Europe. He was the first historical philosopher to investigate the formation of communities on a basis of racial unity. He traces the historical development of nationalities from the earliest times, and gives a leading place in his work to the Slav peoples. Besides this Society, a number of new scientific institutions were founded in

Warsaw: a school of law and a school of medicine in 1808-09, and finally in 1815 a university with five faculties. The Rector of the university, Linde, was one of the greatest philologists of his age, and compiled the first great Polish dictionary. Literature flourished as well as science, and Niemcewicz, whose prestige was great as a poet, a dramatist, a reformer of 1791, and as the friend and secretary of Kościuszko, was the *doyen* of literary circles in Warsaw. Technical education was not neglected, and the school of mines was founded on the initiative of Staszyc, who had become Minister of Industry.

Unhappily the Russian Government soon began to fear these Polish educational activities, and all was swept away by the storm of 1830. The universities of Warsaw, Vilna and Krzemieniec were abolished, and the great library of Warsaw was removed to Petrograd. The Society of the Friends of Learning was closed, and the scientists and poets from all Poland and Lithuania found their way into exile in Western Europe. Even the schools were Russianized, in Lithuania from 1830, in Poland from 1839. Galicia, meanwhile, cut off from Poland before the intellectual revival, had continued to be completely backward. Prussian Poland was also oppressed, but, with the rise of the liberal movement in Germany, there was more freedom for Polish learning there. Thus the two centres of Polish thought, from 1830-61, are Poznań, Paris and Brussels, among the group of exiles of the "Emigration." The life of this period, on its political and literary side, is discussed in other chapters of this book. Romanticism in politics and poetry was universal. Lelewel, from his attic in Brussels, continued to publish works on history as seen from his idealistic and democratic standpoint. The philosophy of the "Emigration" is partly imitative, but chiefly of the Messianic or romantic kind,

and reached its zenith in the fantastic theories of Towiański. The more serious Polish philosophy now finds its home in Prussian Poland. Its dominant note is idealism, under German influence. Wroński, a pupil of Kant, expounded a philosophy of "Messianism." But the leading thinkers, Kremer, Libelt and Trentkowski, were Hegelians, though the latter emancipated himself from the influence of Hegel and developed a more purely Polish system of thought. Mysticism throws its mantle over all the metaphysicians. Natural science stagnates completely in Poland during this period.

A great change came over Poland in 1861. The reforms of Wielopolski give Warsaw a new system of Polish schools, and the University of Warsaw again rises, to remain Polish from 1862 to 1869, during which short time it formed a rallying point for all Polish learning. Sienkiewicz, "Prus," Świentochowski, and a number of other eminent men were students at the University, and all branches of science revived during the short term of its existence. It was Russianized in 1869. The schools were also Russianized, and a gloom once more fell on Polish life in Russia. Positivism was the keynote of thought at this period, and Świentochowski is the protagonist of this school of thought, an original and stimulating thinker, a powerful writer, and the founder of political liberalism, who still lives, a magnificent and revered figure in Warsaw intellectual circles. More permanent was the great revival of learning at Cracow. Political freedom in Galicia led to a revival of science such as had taken place in Warsaw and Vilna sixty years before; and Cracow resumed its former place as the centre of Polish science and learning—a place which it has held down to the present time. The ancient University once more took the lead in all branches of learning, and a new centre of higher education

appeared in the University of Lemberg. The Cracow School of historians, Szujski, Bobrzyński, Kalinka and others, rewrote Polish history, basing their work on careful scientific investigation, but withal biassed by a pessimistic attitude to their national past. Their work, modified and enriched by the works of Korzon, Professor Askenazy, Smoleński, and a number of modern scholars, has given Poland a rich historical literature fully equal to that of the countries of Western Europe.

A new revival of education took place in Russian Poland after the revolutionary period of 1905–6. A complete boycott of the higher Russian schools was organized; and Polish students flocked abroad to foreign universities, and especially to Cracow and Lemberg. In 1906 Polish private schools were once more legalized, and a tremendous development of education took place on private initiative—a tribute to the great Polish capacity for organization by self-help. The movement was controlled by the society called the "Mother of Schools" (*Macierz Polska*), which developed with amazing rapidity, and soon became the most popular organization in Poland. Private generosity supplied the society with ample funds, and under the patronage of Mr Osuchowski, and with the assistance of such eminent educationalists as Father Gralewski, the organization soon embraced 781 circles, with 150,000 members. In the course of one year the opening of 1247 schools was authorized, 63,000 pupils were receiving instruction, and over 400,000 readers had attended the libraries and reading rooms. But the whole society was dissolved in 1907 by the Russian authorities. Other bodies also came into existence, only to meet with the same fate—the "University for All," the "Society of Courses for Adults," and many similar institutions.

Polish education and Polish learning, we see, have had to combat the most unheard-of difficulties in the

last 120 years. They have found a centre here and there in Poland at one time or another. They have been driven abroad, and only from 1861 have they been permanently established in Galicia. They have had to struggle against political repression, confiscation, a rigorous censorship; and yet they have not ceased to advance and develop, and have always emerged from each period of repression, resurgent and expansive. Above all, the education of the peasants has proceeded with amazing rapidity, owing to the devotion and self-sacrifice of the Polish educated class. Illiteracy is still deplorably widespread in Russian Poland, but a testimony to the efforts of Polish tenacity can be seen in the following figures:

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

	Year.	Schools.	Ratio of Pupils to Population.
Independent Poland . . .	1782	95	1 in 220
Kingdom of Poland . . .	1820	36	1 in 130
Poland under Russia . . .	1849	34	1 in 270
Poland after Wielopolski's reform .	1862	36	1 in 195
Poland under Russia . . .	1910	45	1 in 670

EDUCATION, 1911

	Population.	Primary Schools.	Pupils.	Secondary Schools.	Pupils.
Kingdom of Poland (under Russian administration) .	12,476,000	5,091	359,034	92	26,209
Galicia (under Polish autonomy) .	8,025,000	5,661	1,248,248	130	46,009
Prussian Poland (including Germans)	11,084,000	13,501	1,980,418	422	115,972

We see clearly how Polish education has been retarded. Education in Prussia is excellently organized, but it is completely in German. In Russia schools are few,

and have been deliberately hindered in Poland, so that a great proportion of the peasants are illiterate. Only in Galicia are there numerous Polish schools. Moreover, it is not only the restrictions on studies in their own language that has hampered Polish education, but the deliberate policy of repression of everything Polish, which has been carried into the schools by both Russia and Prussia. In Russia a system of petty oppression, of espionage, and a scornful belittling of Polish history, has led to widespread demoralization and has seriously lowered the whole moral tone of Polish society. Learning in the Russian language for the Polish peasant was a mere farce, while the teachers in the secondary schools made their examination tests far harder for Polish students than for Russians. Any reference to Polish history was of a contemptuous kind, and the Polish boy heard with amazement that the battle of Grunwald was won by Russians, that Joseph Poniatowski was a traitor to the Russian Tsar, and that Sobieski won his victories through the gallantry of his Russian Cossack auxiliaries. Most galling of all were the concessions made to German schools, in preference to those of the Poles. In Prussia the schoolmaster was regarded as a German *kulturträger*, and everything Polish was ruled out. Polish children were subjected to cruel corporal punishments, unknown in Russian schools. Finally, they were compelled to say their prayers in the hated German language. The climax came in 1906, when a strike of 100,000 Polish children took place in Poznania, which was repressed with great severity by the Government, and created a scandal all over Europe. To-day, the German and Russian schoolmasters have disappeared from the Polish land. Warsaw University has once more become Polish, and a new university will probably be founded in Poznań. An educational revival is already beginning, and will cover Poland with an adequate number

of schools, both primary and secondary, so that the community will bring all its resources to swell the cultural advance of Poland.

There are to-day five great centres of Polish learning: Cracow, Lemberg, Warsaw, Poznań and Vilna. Cracow acts as a general centre for the whole of Poland. Its ancient University forms the headquarters of science and learning. Teaching in Polish was revived here in 1861, after a period of Germanization, and since 1870 it has led a flourishing existence as one of the chief universities of Europe, as a centre where all that is best in Polish thought and science is taught, and where scientific research attracts not only students from all parts of Poland, but even foreigners from Europe and America. Closely associated with the University is the Academy of Sciences, founded in 1816 and enlarged in 1873, which has done excellent work in every branch of human knowledge, and has raised Polish science, especially history, law and archæology to a very high level. A monumental work is now being published by the Academy, the "Polish Encyclopædia," already running into many scores of volumes. The Library numbers some 60,000 volumes, while the ancient Jagiello Library numbers over 450,000 volumes. There are also in Cracow the great Czartoryski Museum, with large collections and 110,000 books, and the National Museum; while for more special purposes there are the Cracow Philsophical Society, the Law Association, the Historical Society, and many other bodies—all publishing works of primary importance, and working in close touch with similar institutions in Europe. The newer centre of intellectual life in Galicia is Lemberg, with its flourishing University, containing a library of 240,000 volumes; the Ossoliński Museum and Library, founded in 1817; the Society for the Promotion of Learning, founded in 1901; and the Dzieduszycki Museum, with its great

scientific collections. Poznań has suffered most, intellectually, from German opposition to all Polish institutions. Both the State archives and the great Raczyński collections have been confiscated by the Government. But the Society for Promoting Learning, formed by the enlightened Marcinkowski in 1841, has rendered great services to intellectual life, while the Society of the Friends of Learning, dating from 1857, possesses a large library and is a centre of scientific studies.

Warsaw has suffered more than any city in Europe from foreign invasion, and its treasures have been systematically looted, time after time, by the Russian Government. The Imperial Public Library of Petrograd was composed largely of Polish books, especially the great Zaluski Library of 400,000 volumes, confiscated in 1795, and the Warsaw Public Library of 100,000 volumes, taken in 1831. But Polish persistence has survived these terrible losses. Warsaw University has been resuscitated to-day, and its library contains 576,000 books, while many other large collections of MSS., books, and other treasures exist in the State archives and in the private Krasiński and Zamoyski Libraries. There are two other important institutions in Warsaw—the Mianowski Trust, founded in 1881, which has done splendid work in publishing cheap editions of scientific works, and the Warsaw Scientific Society, founded in 1907, and rapidly increasing in size and importance. There were other scientific associations under Russian rule, and there will be very many more now that Warsaw is the capital of a free Polish State. Vilna, like Warsaw, has suffered from Russian rule. Its famous University was abolished in 1832, and Polish institutions were systematically plundered to form new Russian universities. But Polish learning revived after 1906, in the Society of the Friends of Learning, the Art and Science

Museum, and other institutions. There are many other Polish scientific institutions at Toruń, Plock, and elsewhere in the country; and abroad at Rapperswyl, in Switzerland, where a Museum was founded by some exiles, and has preserved many national relics, MSS., and books; and at Paris, where there is a Polish Public Library, and some interesting collections in the Hotel Lambert, the palace of the Czartoryski family. In all these centres Polish learning is firmly established, and Polish scientists are giving more and more to European science in every branch of knowledge. It is impossible to survey so vast a field in detail, but among Polish scientific works one must mention the great Polish Bibliography of Estreicher, one of the most exhaustive works of its kind, published in thirty quarto volumes, and describing everything printed in Poland from 1400 to 1900. Another monumental work is the Historical Bibliography of L. Finkiel, a work of enormous value to the historical investigator. One must mention such historians as Smolka, Korzon and Askenazy; in Law such writers as Hube and Spasowicz; in Economics the famous Jan Bloch, together with Biliński, Glombiński and other Polish statesmen and financiers in Austria. In Sociology there has been Gumplowicz; in Anthropology and Folk-Lore, Kopernicki, Hryncewicz and Kolberg; in Philology, Nehring at Breslau, Brukner at Berlin, Baudouin de Courtenay at Petrograd, Malecki and Kryński at Lemberg. In Science there have been the physicists, Olszewski and Wróblewski, who succeeded in liquifying gases in 1883; in Chemistry, Nencki and his pupils Dzierzgowski and Kostanecki; in Botany, Trzebiński, Cienkowski and Rostafiński, whose original views on the origin of the Slav race, based on a comparison of the names of trees, have added a new department to historical investigation. In Philosophy, besides the Positivists, there was Struwe, founder of a new system

of realistic idealism; in Geography, Nalkowski and Romer; and in classical studies, Pawlicki and Lutoslawski. A great many Polish investigators have been forced to emigrate by the unsettled conditions of education in their own country. Others have worked abroad in order to benefit by the more advanced state of some special science in another country. Thus we have Miss Czaplicka in England, an intrepid Asiatic traveller, a student of the Oxford School of Anthropology, who has published some of the best books on the Turco-Tartars and the aboriginal peoples of Siberia.

But the glory of the Polish science to-day is Mde Curie. Miss Marya Sklodowska, as she was by birth, passed her early life at Warsaw, being the daughter of an eminent Polish teacher in that city. She was born in 1867; and in 1888 she came to Paris to study at the Sorbonne. She made rapid progress in chemistry and physics, and pursued her studies all alone in a small lodging. She soon made the acquaintance of a number of French scholars, the brothers Poincaré, M. Painlevé and Pierre Curie, the eminent physicist, whom she married in 1895. Despite the cares of domesticity—Mde Curie has two daughters—the pair continued their investigations together. The gift of a ton of pitchblende by the Emperor of Austria gave them great material for their experiments, and in 1898 they made their great discovery of Radio-active phenomena. They were rewarded in 1903 by receiving the Nobel Prize. Mde Curie became Professor at the École Normale at Sévres. Her husband was killed in 1906 as the result of a street accident, and Mde Curie succeeded him in the Chair at the Sorbonne. She received the Nobel Prize a second time in 1911. Despite this career of French and European fame, Mde Curie kept up a close connexion with her native land. She founded a Radium Institute at Warsaw, and often spent her holidays at

Zakopane, in the Tatra mountains, where her sister, Dr Dluska, has a sanatorium. During the War she has done excellent service in X-ray treatment of the wounded at the Western Front. Mde Curie is the *beau-idéal* of a Polish scientific investigator. In her are combined the two great Polish qualities of tenacity, a capacity for plodding, intensive study, and a brilliant imagination. Moreover, she has shown how, in a life devoted to science, a woman may still bring up a family. The wonderful genius of this Polish scientist has not developed at the expense of her feminine charm, and Mde Curie has remained an excellent mother and a good Polish patriot, as well as one of the first scientists in the world. She is only typical of those qualities which have enabled Polish learning to develop amidst unheard-of difficulties, and which will give more and more to the world now that Poland is free to evolve her own ideals in her own intellectual centres.

CHAPTER XV

ART AND MUSIC

POLAND has always been a rich field for the development of all the arts, owing to her close connexion with Western Europe and to the artistic talents of her sons. Over a long period there could be little permanence for architecture in a country where the chief building material was wood, and where constant raids by the Tartars and invasion by Swedes, Turks and Muscovites devastated the country and exhausted its resources in man-power. Yet from the time of the arrival of the Benedictine and Cistercian monks in the eleventh century, architecture began to flourish, and soon music, sculpture and painting rose, often imitative, but often original, and showing strongly marked national features of their own. The history of the famous Wawel, that revered centre of national life, that has survived long eras of calamity, and still holds its proud, regal position in Cracow, is symbolic of the persistence of art in Poland. The Wawel is the Acropolis or Kremlin of Cracow, and contains both the Royal Castle and the Cathedral. The original cathedral has passed through many phases. It was originally a Romanesque structure, of which only a crypt remains; then a magnificent Gothic building took its place; and, lastly, the famous Renaissance Chapel was added to it. The Castle is one of the finest specimens of Renaissance architecture in Europe. There are several specimens of Romanesque architecture still preserved elsewhere, but

the glory of mediæval Poland lies in the later buildings which grew up in the " Vistula Gothic " style, a variation of ordinary Gothic, distinctive in its use of brick, its bizarre combinations of brick with stone, its slender lines and the great length of its choirs. The Cathedrals of Cracow, Warsaw and Vilna are all splendid examples of this style, while in its more secular aspects we have the Clothworkers' Hall, the University Library and part of the Town Hall (Polish, *Ratusz*) at Cracow, the Cathedral School at Przemyśl, and a number of stately buildings all over the country. The gate of St Floryan and the Barbican at Cracow, dating from the fifteenth century, are almost unique monuments from this period. The Renaissance has left many splendid buildings in Poland, especially in the work of the municipalities: the Town Halls of Poznań and Dantzig, the Old Town at Warsaw, the Market-places and arcades of Cracow and Lemberg. The palaces and country mansions of the gentry, some copied from the Renaissance style of the Wawel, but most of them in the later Barocco, Rococco and Empire styles, cover the whole country, especially Lesser Poland. More national elements are seen in the buildings of wood, which were erected from local material to suit local needs, and so have a distinctive quality of their own, dating from pagan times. A modern revival, based on peasant art, shows especially the influence of the Tatra mountain region, where a national style of architecture has grown up, known as the " Zakopane " style. The adornment of the Polish churches, with all the magnificence of the Catholic tradition, led to a great development of sculpture, culminating in the work of Wit Stwosz in the sixteenth century. He studied at Nuremberg, and returned to found a school at Cracow and to beautify all East Central Europe with his superb masterpieces in wood and bronze. At a later day, Thorwaldsen

founded a school of Polish sculptors, and left to Poland his magnificent statues of Copernicus and Prince Joseph Poniatowski. Painting and music also flourished in Poland, largely under Italian influence; and, at the time of the Renaissance, Poland was behind no country in Europe in her musical productions, especially in church music. The *Kolendy*, or Christmas Carols, of Poland are especially beautiful; and there is a long tradition of church music, from the introduction of Gregorian chants by St Adalbert to the hymns and masses of later times.

But modern music and painting in Poland are of more recent origin. They owe their revival to their cultivation at the magnificent Court of Stanislaw Poniatowski, the last king, a man of weak character but of lofty æsthetic ideals. He drew on all Europe in his quest for artists and teachers. His master of the revels was the painter Bacciarelli, and he also summoned to his Court such celebrated artists as Canaletto, Lampi, Grassi, Füger and Norblin. Among the Polish artists of the day were Chodowiecki and Kucharski, whose pictures of Marie Antoinette and Countess Potocka are well known. These men left a school of classical painters, chief among whom were Smuglewicz and Orlowski. The King also created a national opera. Paisiello was his master of music; and a number of operas were composed by Stefani, Kurpiński, and Elsner, who became Director of the Warsaw Conservatoire, and was the teacher of Chopin.

With the rise of the Romantic movement Poland came into her own. There appeared the great figure of Chopin, who embodied in his work the whole national lore of song and melody and the national dances of his country, and revealed the riches of Polish musical art to the whole world. In Chopin's music all foreigners have direct contact with the spirit of Polish romanti-

cism, and it is not within the province of this work to discuss the technical side of his musical compositions, which are accessible to all Europe. But the more national aspects of his life and work are less known. Frederick Chopin was born near Warsaw in 1809. His father was a French teacher in Poland, but the family was originally of Polish origin, a certain Szop having emigrated to Lorraine with the exiled King Leszczyński. His mother was Polish, and from her he inherited all the artistic gifts and imagination of the Polish race. The young Chopin was educated at Warsaw, and as his musical genius began to develop, he entered the Warsaw musical Conservatoire, which was then under the directorship of the talented Elsner. He came into contact with the world of music during his visit to Vienna in 1829. He gave his first concert at Warsaw in the next year. He was abroad when the Polish revolution broke out—an event which was an epoch in the career of the young musician, as in the lives of the great poets. With a heart choked with bitterness he migrated to France to spend his life in exile, and settled among the French artistic group that included Gautier, Dumas, de Musset and Delacroix; and among the brilliant circles of Polish exiles, including Julius Slowacki, the poet, so like to Chopin both in appearance and in character. Here he made the acquaintance of George Sand, whose friendship was so important an element in his life. He visited Germany, where he met Mendelssohn and the Schumanns, and spent some time in England and Scotland. He lived in considerable poverty, and the disease, that soon began to ravage an enfeebled constitution that had never been robust, resulted in his premature death in his fortieth year.

The music of Chopin is accessible to all, and any discussion of its technical merits would be out of place here. But something must be said of the position of

Chopin in the development of the art of music, because his work has so often been misunderstood. The complete ignorance of Poland, so universal in Europe, has resulted in the prevalence of very erroneous opinions about the greatest Polish composer. Critics, in their attempts to classify his works, have placed him now in the German school, now among the French composers. With the traditional German school Chopin had little in common. The limitations of the classical forms would have choked the free spontaneity and capricious irregularity of his methods. The conventional scenery, the banality of theme and pedantry of treatment that distinguished so many of the German composers, were utterly alien to the genius of the Polish pianist. The resemblance of his music to that of Schumann was due to the evolution of the Romantic movement in all countries at the time. Chopin never learned from the Germans. On the contrary, they copied many of his innovations. A far more deeply founded idea is the heresy that Chopin was a product of French music. This is based partly on the fact that he lived so long in France, and partly on a mistaken view of his music. The portions of his work that became most popular were his Nocturnes and Waltzes, and in these there is an element of artificiality, of cloying sweetness, of languorous beauty, and a lack of virility and sanity that suggest the atmosphere of the Salon. These compositions are the weakest part of his work, and, had he composed nothing else, they would have been, in fact, the work of a denationalized exile. But apart from his skill as a virtuoso, and the tremendous advance he made in the art of piano-playing, by his bold and original use of rhythm, the charm of his melodies and the magnificent colour and richness of his harmonies, the greatness of Chopin lies in his intense romanticism, and in the in-

spiration which he draws from national feeling for his romantic masterpieces. Chopin is the first composer to embody the spirit of a nation in music, and he is the precursor of all the national movements in Russia, Hungary, Scandinavia and Finland, that have so greatly enriched the music of the last century. He embodies in his compositions not only the distinctive feelings of Polish nationality, but also the actual folk-melodies, rhythms and dances of his native land. He has created in music what Mickiewicz created in poetry and Matejko in painting; he has expressed the whole spirit of a people. All the characteristics of the Pole that have been discussed in Chapter III. are expressed in the music of Chopin; and if his genius developed a wild fantastic imagination, a dark, almost morbid brooding, an intense spiritual exaltation, at the expense of form, sanity and logic, this is due to the tragic setting in which the sombre drama of the exiled Polish romantics was played. The setting in which Chopin paints his scenes is a grey one, but it is not the artificial gloom of the city, but the monotony of the scenery of the great Polish plain and of the lives of its peasants. His greatest works are based on Polish folk-dances. Each province of Poland has its own distinctive dance and its own special type of folk-song. The Duma or Dumka (reverie) is the special song of the Ukraine, and consists of a plaintive melody, accompanied on a stringed instrument called the *bandura*, and usually changing from the minor key to the major. The fresher Lithuanian song, the *Dainos*, is of ancient origin, and a specimen was composed by Chopin. But Poland proper has four great dances, one for each province. The Polonaise was the dance of Great Poland, but it became, at an early date, the dance of the Court of Poland. It is rather a procession than a dance, a solemn march of gallant men and fair women, with a wealth

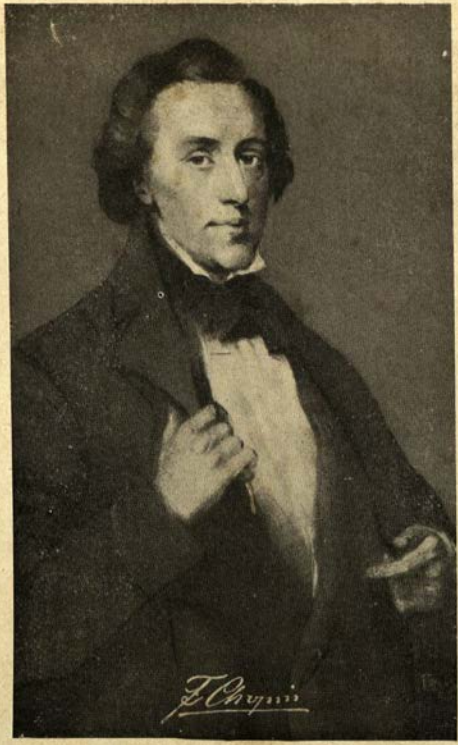
of gesture, gesticulation and graceful movement. It is stately, chivalrous, and of a distinct military character. The Polonaise was developed artistically by Prince M. Ogiński, whose dances became popular over all Eastern Europe. In the hands of Chopin it came to represent all the pageantry of Polish aristocratic life. Its themes are grave, stately and full of old-world ceremony and deliberation; at times full of fierce passion and reluctant surrender, at others of war and heroism. The description of a Polonaise by Mickiewicz describes rather the courteous, stately aspect of the dance. But in Chopin the Polonaise is full of virility and life. Its marked rhythm, in triple time, has been used to express the marching of armies, the shock of battle, even the sound of the guns at Warsaw in 1830. Most popular in Poland is the famous "Royal" Polonaise (Op. 40, No. 1) in A major, symbolical of the pomp and glory of the former Polish monarchy. The Fantasie Polonaise in A flat major represents the tragic struggle of Poland against her enemies, and is full of sublime faith in ultimate victory.

The *Krakowiak*, or *Cracovienne*, is the dance of Lesser Poland, and in particular of the region of Cracow. It is, in contrast to the stately Polonaise, a fiery peasant dance in double time. There are often couplets, written in it, of a jovial nature, sung by the dancers, who are usually in peasant costume. It is distinguished by its noisy bustle, its gliding steps and the monotonous insistence of the accompaniment with its well-marked rhythm. The national dance of Kujawia is the Kujawiak, a mournful dirge-like melody, entirely lacking the abandon of the former dance. The best known specimens of this dance in music are the compositions of the violinist Wieniawski. While the Polonaise is the dance of the Court, and the Krakowiak the dance of the peasants, the Mazur or Mazurka, as we call it, the

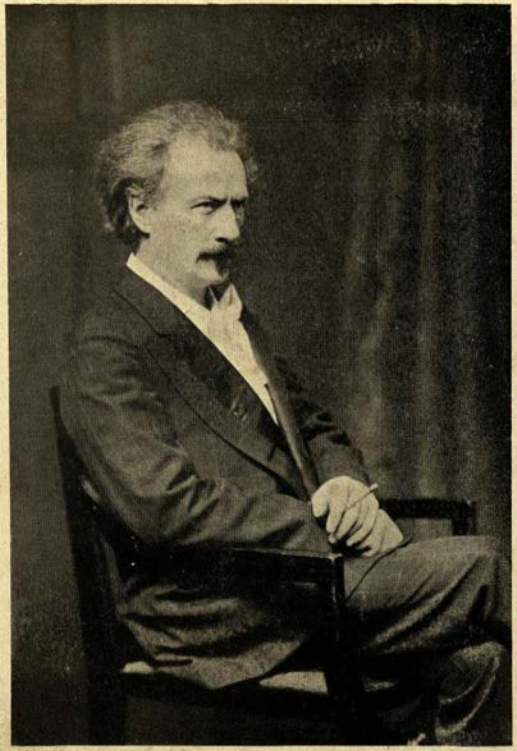
national dance of Mazovia, though it emanated from the people, has become the dance of all classes in Poland, and in it Chopin found his greatest medium of expression. In triple time, but far more lively than the Polonaise, the Mazur can express all the emotions and feelings in turn. The original folk-songs and dances expressed the simple joys of life, tales from history, love, song and dance. But the Mazur soon developed into a literary form, and the first national anthem of Poland, "Poland has not perished yet," was sung to a Mazur air composed by Ogiński. The genius of Chopin lies in the skill with which he has preserved the rustic character of the Mazur, and at the same time modified its form, enriched and ennobled its subject-matter, and made it express all the national spirit of Poland and cover the whole gamut of human emotion, from reckless good humour to tender pathos. Out of these quaint, slender forms he has fashioned great masterpieces, and enriched romantic music with a whole wealth of harmony, melody and rhythm, that have influenced every later composer. Chopin revealed his genius also in his Ballades, partly suggested by some of the ballads of Mickiewicz, and in his Preludes and Études, which give him full scope for the development of his originality and charm. The Seventh Prelude, "a plaintive little mazurka of two lines," says Huneker, "is a mere silhouette of the national dance. Yet in its measure is compressed all Polish Mazovia." Contrast this with the impetuous "revolutionary" Étude No. 12 which, against a background of restless tumult and simmering excitement, portrays all the hopes of the insurrection of 1830. Its poignant notes of despair, triumph and power, end with two staccato chords of impressive weight, suggesting the sudden check of great forces that must inevitably burst forth again. Chopin's work covers a vast range, from massive, magnificent, and

epic grandeur, to dark, solitary questionings and sombre and sorrowful dreams. He has been accused of a lack of virility. But anyone who knows the Scherzos, the Polonaises and some of the Études will realize the absurdity of this charge. He is popularly supposed to express French ideas. No nation was more antipathetic to Chopin than the French. He never forgave them for their failure to help Poland in 1830, and if his fate led him to pass part of his life in France, his capricious genius was never affected by the hard rationality and clarity of French art, and French wit and gaiety made the atmosphere of the Salon far from congenial to him. Neither are his works morbid. They are, it is true, infused with a gentle melancholy; but in Poland, melancholy does not imply despair. The religious and national beliefs of the Poles do not permit them to submit themselves permanently to despair. In another chapter it has been suggested that this atmosphere of gloom is somewhat of a literary pose. The fact is, the Poles, like all the Slavs, have a way of adapting themselves to the mood of the moment. The monotony of a snow scene, a dark, grey period of adversity, disillusionment and fear, lead to a sensuous feeling of plaintive tenderness that are very different from despair. The individual Pole is full of temperament, and his adaptability to varying moods has earned him an unmerited reputation for fickleness. It is in this spirit that Chopin's work should be heard, and with a full recognition of their Polish background. Only in this way can we come to a just appreciation of the true richness and variety of the masterpieces of the great Polish composer.

The second great Polish composer was Stanislaw Moniuszko (1819-72) who is quite unknown outside Poland on account of the purely national character of his compositions. He did not originate Opera in Poland,



F. F. CHOPIN



IGNACY PADEREWSKI

but he is the true creator of the national Polish Opera. His first opera was produced at Vilna in 1858, and he composed five or six operas on national themes, which have kept the stage ever since. In "Halka," his masterpiece, there are technical imperfections and a lack of general interest, but with its simplicity, its tenderness and its appeal to national sentiment, it is the greatest opera of Poland. The two great Polish composers have been followed by many others: Noskowski, Stojowski, Szymanowski and the brilliant Karlowicz, whose life was cut short by an accident in the Carpathians. His songs, which are often composed to the lyrical poems of Tetmajer, are full of beauty, and his Lithuanian Rhapsody is one of the finest orchestral works in all Polish music. Poland however has produced fewer composers of the first rank than Russia. But from Poland and from the great Jewish community in Poland and Western Russia have come a great number of virtuosi. Besides Chopin, there have been Paderewski, Sliwiński, Moszkowski and Pachmann among piano players; and Kontski, Lipiński, Wieniawski and Barcewicz among violinists, besides a host of lesser players; Ignacy Paderewski is the first piano-player in the world, a brilliant critic and interpreter of Chopin, the composer of an opera and a symphony, and a great patriot who has to-day become Prime Minister of Poland. Polish music is to-day rich in composers and executants, and when political questions are settled there is a possibility of a great advance in the future. There have long been signs of such an advance. The young school of composers have come under the influence of Wagner, Chaykovsky and Strauss, and in their works, especially those of Karlowicz and Szymanowski, they display striking originality. Music is strongly established in the musical societies of Warsaw, Cracow and Lemberg. The Phil-

harmonic in Warsaw has a series of fine concerts every year. Its orchestra formerly played under the conductorship of Emil Mlynarski who is now conducting in Glasgow, and then of Fitelberg, now conductor of the Vienna Opera House. There are also societies for singing known as the Lute (*Lutnia*), which have done a great deal for this lesser form of art. Opera flourishes in all the chief centres of Poland, and there has been a wealth of vocal talent in the brothers Reszke, Mdes Sembrich-Kochanska, Bolska, Korolewicz, and many others. Musical art stands high in Poland, but has not yet had the opportunity for a free development, though all the elements for a big advance are latent.

Polish painting continued to advance in the early days of last century, and in 1859 a permanent art exhibition was founded in Warsaw, but artists continued to lead a cosmopolitan life and to frequent the cities of Western Europe, especially Munich. The romantic movement which produced Mickiewicz and Chopin, gave to Polish art the work of Jan Matejko (1838-93). This great artist founded a completely original method of painting, historical painting on a large scale. His chief works, the battle of Grunwald, Sobieski at Vienna, Rejtan and Skarga's sermon, are among the chief treasures of the Polish race. He is regarded with some scorn by other artistic schools for his technical methods. In fact he was more an historian than an artist, and he portrayed the great movements of Polish history with a powerful brush. He brought to life the glorious figures of the past and made them glow with colour, and he did more than even the poets and novelists to stir up the imagination of the Polish people to an interest in their past. He is a solitary figure, leaving no school or tradition, but one of the great giants of the romantic age, an almost unique figure

in European painting, reminding one most of Sir Walter Scott in his broad imagination, his careful study of history and his forceful characterization.

The main movement in Polish art was towards the gradual evolution of a national school. Witkiewicz, a talented painter, an incisive critic and a writer of great talent and lofty ideals, turned the minds of the modern painters towards truth, and a number of talented artists began to appear and obtain recognition in Europe. The greatest artist of this period is Joseph Chelmoński (1849-1914), in whom simplicity and a profound love of nature were combined with fine technical skill. His exquisite landscapes give wonderful atmospheres—the light on a cornfield, the broad sweep of a snow scene, or the magic of moonlight nights. He was a genuine poet and was able to portray all the moods of nature. Among other painters of the time Falat and Wyczólkowski are known all over Europe. But the various experiments of the time, covering all the fields of realism and impressionism, were gradually leading to a new movement, neo-romanticism. The painters were inspired by the literary revival under Miriam and others, and the newest age of Polish painting is perhaps the greatest. The artistic centre of Poland is Cracow where Malczewski held the Professorship of the Academy, in succession to Falat and Matejko. Under him and the talented Stanislawski a brilliant group of painters studied and worked: Axentowicz, Weiss, Pankiewicz and the famous dramatist Wyspiański, whose paintings and stained-glass windows gave him a high place in Polish art as well as literature. Warsaw was less progressive than Cracow in organizing art, and was dependent on the Petrograd Ministry of Education. But under Lenc, Maslowski and others a number of talented painters grew up. Polish art to-day is developing widely and displaying all the gifts of

imagination and originality which are so conspicuous in the Polish character, so that Polish paintings are becoming better known and esteemed in Europe, and hold a high place in the artistic production of our day.

CHAPTER XVI

THE WAR

SO desperate was the general position of the Poles in the early years of the present century, that they could not expect any alleviation of their lot, save from some violent upheaval such as would shatter the fabric of the European system that lay with such grinding pressure on their unhappy country, as on all the submerged and divided nationalities of East Central Europe. Though they had learned, only too bitterly, the lesson of 1863, and no longer put their faith in armed rebellion, they continued to hope for some change in the event of their fortunes, with those of Europe in general, being submitted to the dread arbitrament of war. They were in consequence intensely interested in the diplomatic situation, and watched with absorbing interest the rise of German military power and the opposition gradually growing up against it. The diplomatic tangle was discussed in all the cafés; and the commonest topic of conversation during the present writer's residence in Poland (1908-13) was "When will there be war?" (*kiedy bendzie wojna?*) Over a century ago our own Burke wrote that "war, if it be a means of wrong and violence, it is also a means of justice among the nations"; and the Poles watched the gathering storm with fascination, fear and hope. They fully realized what war would mean to Poland. Their beautiful countryside would be the scene of one of the greatest campaigns in history; and for them, with their sons serving in three

different armies, it would be a fratricidal conflict. But matters could not very well be worse for them; they might be vastly better. A long cancerous growth necessitated a critical operation. They were ready to take all the risks. They awaited the moment when the Polish question, so long suppressed, would be once more dragged out into the open.

When the war broke out, it found the Polish people united on all essential questions, *i.e.* with a common ideal for a united independent Poland. But they were forced to take service in three different armies, and to kill each other, when their positions in the machine demanded it. There were, at the start, about 400,000 Poles in the Russian Army, and 200,000 and 100,000 in the Austrian and German armies respectively. Further, there was a deep difference of opinion as to the political attitude that should be adopted by the Poles. There were two main currents of political thought. The bulk of the Austrian Poles, and some of the Russian Poles, hoped for an Austrian solution of the Polish question. The rest of the Russian Poles desired a Russian solution. There was no philo-Prussian party; the Poles of Prussia were impotent and voiceless and waited on the event. The Galician Conservatives, with their traditional loyalty to the Hapsburg House, now hoped to realize their aim of reviving Poland under an Austrian Archduke, their candidate being Charles Stephen, who knew Polish, lived a good deal at Lemberg, and had married his two daughters to two leading Polish noblemen, a Prince Radziwill and a Prince Czartoryski. The more revolutionary elements, especially the Polish party of Socialists, had inherited from the early emigrants and preserved a bitter hatred of Russian oppression, and had been planning a rebellion for some years. They crossed the frontier, under Joseph Pilsudski, and joined the Polish forces that were being organized

in Galicia by Haller and other leaders. A legion was formed with Polish standards, and fought heroically for Austria throughout the War.

Meanwhile, in Russia, the outbreak of a national war against Germany was greeted with indescribable enthusiasm, and all nationalities hastened to bury their feuds with the Government, in order to resist the common enemy. In a great session of the Duma, held on August 9th, the Polish deputy Jaroński voiced the feelings of the Russian Poles in the following speech:

"In this historic moment, when the Slavonic world and the German, led on by that immemorial foe of Poland, Prussia, are standing up against one another in decisive encounter, the Polish nation, bereft of independence and of the power of manifesting its own will, finds itself in a tragic situation. The tragedy is accentuated by the fact not only that Polish ground is the theatre of war, but that the Polish nation, torn into three, beholds her sons in three camps hostile to one another.

"Territorially divided, we Poles, nevertheless, in feeling and sympathy for the Slav must stand as one. We are inclined to this attitude not only by the justice of the cause Russia has embraced, but also by political reason.

"The world-wide significance of the present moment relegates to the background all domestic reckonings. God grant that Slavdom, under the leadership of Russia, may resist the Teuton, even as, five centuries ago, Poland and Lithuania resisted him at Grunwald.

"May the blood shed by us, and the horrors of this war, to us a fratricidal war, lead to the reconstitution of the dismembered Polish nation."

The Russian Commander-in-chief, the Grand Duke

Nicholas, issued, in the Polish language, a proclamation to the Poles which seemed to usher in a new era for Poland:

"POLES!

"The hour has struck in which the sacred dream of your fathers and forefathers may find fulfilment.

"A century and a half ago, the living flesh of Poland was torn asunder; but her soul did not die. She lived in hope that there would come an hour for the resurrection of the Polish nation and for a sisterly reconciliation with Russia.

"The Russian Army now brings you the joyful tidings of this reconciliation. May the boundaries be annulled which cut the Polish nation into pieces! May that nation re-unite into one body under the sceptre of the Russian Emperor. Under this sceptre, Poland shall be re-born, free in faith, in language, in self-government.

"One thing only Russia expects of you: equal consideration for the rights of those nationalities to which history has linked you.

"With open heart, with hand fraternally outstretched, Russia steps forward to meet you. She believes that the sword has not rusted which, at Grunwald, struck down the enemy.

"From the shores of the Pacific to the North Seas, the Russian armies are on the march. The dawn of a new life is breaking for you.

"May there shine, resplendent above that dawn, the sign of the Cross, symbol of the Passion and Resurrection of Nations!

(Signed) Commander-in-Chief General Adjutant,

"NICHOLAS.

"1 (14) *August* 1914."

These words sunk deep into the hearts of the Poles,[1] but seem not to have reached the legions forming in Galicia, till it was too late to modify their plans. They were accepted with enthusiasm by the National Democrat party, which formed a union with the Realist party and both the Progressive parties in order to publish a joint message of trust and goodwill, in response to the proclamation. It seemed as if the hopes of a Russian solution of the Polish question were to be realized, and that an autonomous Poland would soon be created, which, in alliance with the great Slavonic Russian Empire, would win back from the Teuton the remaining Polish lands, and form a bulwark against German aggression in Central Europe. A Polish National Council was formed, consisting chiefly of National Democrats, with Count Wielopolski as Chairman and Mr Roman Dmowski as chairman of the Executive Committee. The former was favourably received by the Emperor, with whom his family had a traditional friendship.

In the meantime the fighting had begun, and the worst fears of the Poles were realized. The Russian policy of holding the fortified Vistula line was carried out, and all the western part of the kingdom of Poland was abandoned to the Germans. The German strategical plan had been drawn up with a knowledge of the inevitable slowness of Russian mobilization. They concentrated almost all their forces for a short, shattering stroke against France, leaving only a small force to defend East Prussia, and to raid the kingdom of Poland. They left Austria to occupy the attention of the Russian staff, by a general offensive from Galicia in a northerly direction, to threaten Warsaw from the rear, and either compel a retreat, or at any rate prepare a favourable situation for a German offensive, when troops could be transferred from the Western front.

[1] Witness Professor Korzon's enthusiastic pamphlet.

The German plan failed for two reasons: the unprecedented rapidity of the Russian mobilization and the incompetence of the Austrian generals. Russia was able, not only to concentrate against Austria two strong armies, those of Ruzsky and Brusilov, under the general command of Ivanov, but to invade East Prussia from the east and south with her northern armies. The former operation was completely successful. The Austrians were defeated, Lemberg was captured, and Ruzsky was rapidly advancing towards Cracow, in occupation of most of Galicia. The operations in the north were at first successful, and effective enough to relieve the pressure on France. But they failed in the end through lack of co-ordination. Samsonov's army was defeated and captured by Hindenburg, and Rennenkampf was driven back to the Niemen. Hindenburg now found himself strong enough to order a general advance, but was driven back from the Vistula by Ruzsky, who then advanced to the frontier of Poznania, but was again driven back, and only succeeded in stemming the German advance on the river Bzura, west of the Vistula line. Thus in four months four waves of armies had passed over the ill-fated Polish plain, and the condition of the inhabitants was lamentable. The political situation too was not good. The Russian Committee, appointed by the Premier, Goremykin, to draw up a constitution for Poland, had done little. It had been noticed as significant that no pronouncement on the Polish question had been made by the Tsar, and it soon became clear that Goremykin regarded the proclamation of the Grand Duke as merely a military stratagem, to secure Polish support, which did not in any way bind the Government. Moreover, all attempts to form a separate Polish legion, as a rallying point for Polish patriotism against the seductions of the Galician legions, where the Polish white eagle was openly

flaunted, had met with strong opposition from the Ministers. But all these questions fell into the shade before the great blow that now fell on Russia. For some time the War Ministry had failed to supply an adequate amount of munitions, and soldiers were lavishly sacrificed to compensate for the shortage of shells. In May, Mackensen launched his great offensive on the Dunajec, with such a weight of artillery that the poorly-equipped Russian army was almost annihilated. A general retreat began, which continued during the summer. First Lemberg, then Warsaw, and finally even Vilna were evacuated, and the great German advance only stopped before Riga and Rovno. Not only the whole of Poland, but all Lithuania and part of the Ukraine were now in German hands; and the Polish leaders were faced with a completely new situation.

Russian political action was now of minor importance to the Poles. The leaders of the National Council had left Warsaw with the army and retired abroad, and, for a time, their activities as leaders *in partibus* became relatively unimportant. All their hopes hinged on a military revival of Russia, and this great question quite threw into the shade the relatively trifling problem of the future of a land not yet reconquered. The centre of interest now shifts to the Polish lands occupied by the Central Powers.

In Galician politics there are three factors to be borne in mind. Firstly, the Austrian Government had, even before the War, become more and more influenced by Germany in its policy, even in Slavonic questions. The War gave the German General Staff a free hand in Austria, and the Hapsburg monarchy practically lost its independence. Secondly, the Austrian Government was dependent on the support of the Polish party for its majority in the Reichsrath. Thirdly, there

was the Ukrainian question. The struggle between the Poles and Ruthenians, both supporters of the Government, always required delicate handling on the part of Austria. But now any anti-Polish move was likely to throw the Galician Poles more and more into the hands of the Polish National Council in Russia. The controlling hand was that of Germany in fact; but Germany realized the necessity of a cautious treatment of Polish susceptibilities. The attitude of the Poles themselves had been that it would be folly to risk the loss of the solid advantages they already possessed under Austria for the vaguer prospect of reunion held out by Russia. But a strong minority, led by the National Democrat or Pan-Polish party, continued a pro-Russian propaganda. A Supreme National Committee was formed under the ex-Minister Biliński, which asserted the loyalty of the Galician Poles to the Throne, and raised the Polish legions for the Austrian Army. But the Russian party gained in strength by the Russian occupation of Galicia in August and September 1914. The Russian Government pursued a policy of conciliation towards the Poles and hostility towards Ukrainian nationalism, so that the new Russo-Polish entente found a material basis in common opposition to the claims of the Ukrainist party. But the great Russian retreat changed all this. Polish legions played a gallant part in the recovery of their land from the Russian oppressor, and in the autumn of 1915 they awaited with confidence the fulfilment of its pledges by the Austrian Government. But Austria, whatever may have been her convictions in the matter, could do nothing. She had recovered some of her military prestige, but it was Germany that was mainly responsible for the great advance, and Germany was now the dominant factor in the situation. German statesmen knew the Polish question thoroughly, and their policy

was to maintain the traditional Prussian attitude towards Poland, *i.e.* to preserve the principle of the Partitions. They had an additional weapon, in the national movements of Lithuania and the Ukraine, which they had sedulously fostered. They at once set up a separate Government in Lithuania, which they designed to make into a new vassal State, under the name of the *Ober-Ost*, or Further East. Galicia was to remain an Austrian province, but the eastern portion was to be the basis of a new Ukrainian state. The Kingdom of Poland was the most vital question, and on this Germany temporized.

This blow to their ambitions fell unexpectedly on the Poles. They had nourished hopes of a triumphant entry into Warsaw, and a formal reunion of the Polish lands. And now even their position in Galicia was threatened by the philo-Ukraine policy of Germany. The Polish Viceroy of Galicia resigned, and an Austrian-German general took his place. The former alliance between the Galician Poles and the Hapsburg monarchy was at an end, and it seemed as though a new age had come, darker than that of the Metternich or that of Bismarck. But at this very moment the German Government, with characteristic subtlety, inaugurated a new policy which held out considerable allurements to the Poles. She was compelled to formulate some temporary scheme for ruling Poland, before entering on a larger system of assimilation and repression. Moreover, she wanted more men for her army; and there was a large Polish population not yet conscripted by the Russian army, which had possessed ample man power but no means of arming its soldiers. The new German plan was the grant of a Constitution for the Kingdom of Poland; in other words, without touching her own provinces of Poznania or Prussia, or the territory of her ally, Austria, she could pose

before the world as the restorer of Polish liberty, and even cynically hold out to the Poles promises of additions to their little kingdom, if they behaved themselves and gave her more food for powder. This scheme is not unlike Napoleon's foundation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which he organized at a similar crisis, and used as a recruiting ground for his armies from 1808-12. Thus one more diminutive State came into existence out of the *dejecta membra* of Poland. The principal party leaders were absent, and the remaining elements grouped themselves into two camps—those who were in favour of active participation in this new German Poland, and those who were against all co-operation. The former consisted mostly of non-party members of the aristocracy and of a wide coalition of unknown individuals. Moreover Germany held out an inducement to Polish patriotism in the prospect of a Polish national army; and the gallant Pilsudski came to Warsaw, where he saw a new field for developing his two chief ideas of national freedom and opposition to Russia. However, he proved a thorn in the side of the German Government, which was very soon forced to imprison him. The German scheme met with little help from the Poles, and peasants were only forced into the army or the labour battalions by starvation. The civilian, as food grew scarce, was allowed half the ration of the soldier.

In Russia, events had been happening which turned the tide of Polish opinion once more against Germany. The hopeless inefficiency and the undoubted treachery of the Russian Government, and the "dark forces" behind it, led to a great national movement of protest, which culminated in the revolution of March 1917. The day of freedom had at length dawned on the Empire of the Tsars, and among the great political changes that followed was the complete recognition of the national

rights of the oppressed peoples. Poland was promised reunion and independence, and Polish legions took their place in the Russian army alongside Czech, Serbian and other detachments. Then came the collapse of the Russian army, and the foreign legions were left in the air. The Serbs made their way to the coast, and were transferred to the Macedonian front. The Czechs remained in Russia, and then, as the Bolshevik oligarchy began to threaten them, they started on their famous march to Siberia, where they have made history. The Polish legions avoided the German route of advance, and encamped in the district of Mińsk, which they declared part of a Polish State—a curious national island in the middle of the simmering chaos into which the Russian Empire had fallen. Meanwhile the growing reaction against Austria was leading to a crisis. The Poles realized that Austria was now a mere pawn in the hands of Germany, and from May 1917 the influence of the National party was growing and expressing itself forcibly in the discussions of the Polish parliamentary deputies. The Polish National Committee in Galicia was dissolved. But the crisis came with the Treaty of Brest-litewsk, when the Chelm district and Podlasia were openly marked out as part of the new State of the Ukraine. The Polish legions, under General Haller, openly revolted against Austria. A battle took place in Galicia, and 1500 Poles under General Haller managed to break through into Bessarabia. The rest were captured and imprisoned in Hungary, to await their trial as deserters. In the Austrian Parliament the National Democrats and Socialists had withdrawn as a protest against the anti-Polish policy. Austria depended for her majority on Polish support, and, so long as the Polish Conservatives and the Popular party remained, her position was secure. But the latter party now turned against

the Government, and from that time its position became precarious.

Meanwhile in Germany the little Polish State, created by the Manifesto of September 12th, 1917, had become a new centre of political activity. A legislative body, the Council of State, had been elected to co-operate with the Government, and the Activist parties were busy rallying supporters to the Government. The extraordinary composition of the Council of State may be seen in the fact that the Government was supported by eleven distinct parties, six of which consisted of only one deputy each. All of them were newly created parties, while the opposition, or Passivists, included a a solid block of the old Polish parties—the Realists, the National Democrats and the Progressive party. There was never a question of forming a pro-German party, but the bankruptcy of the Austrian idea had led many Poles to think that it was better to deal directly with the master, Germany; and public opinion generally, especially during the dark days of the German victories of March and April 1918, considered that some kind of rapprochement with Germany, however regrettable, was inevitable. It was only a temporary wave of despair, but it gave an opportunity to the Activists to obtain more support for the Polish Government. The imprisonment of Pilsudski had been followed by other arrests, and the hatred of Germany was increased by her treatment of Polish questions at Brest, and by the disarmament of the Polish legions. After the Treaty of Brest, the Polish legions were left stranded, and the German General Staff resolved to disarm them. One army corps under General Muśnicki was successfully disarmed, but another corps had been joined by General Haller and the remnants of the Polish legion from the Austrian army. This force was attacked in the Ukraine by a combined force of Germans and Bolsheviks, and, after a heroic

struggle against superior numbers, the Poles were scattered and disarmed. General Haller himself and a number of Polish soldiers, both from the Russian and Austrian armies, together with some Polish prisoners from the German army, escaped to the coast and set sail for France. The rest of the Polish soldiers were left scattered over Russia, and some of them gradually found their way back to their homes in Poland. Thus the German-Bolshevik alliance had overcome the scattered forces of Poland.

The main interest of the Polish question now shifts to France. It will be remembered that the National Council had continued to exist in Paris, though somewhat under a cloud, owing to the failure of Russia to carry out her promises to Poland. But the whole situation was now changed. Russia had collapsed, and there was now no anti-Russian party among the Poles. The National Council therefore became a rallying point for the new Polish movement. It had many inducements to offer to the dejected Polish exiles. Its members were recognized by the Allies as the official representatives of Poland. It contained statesmen of the calibre of Mr Dmowski, who had displayed his great talents in his organization of the National Democratic party, which he had led in the Duma, and had showed great patriotism and powers of restraint both during the crisis of 1905–06 and in 1914–15. The reproach against Mr Dmowski of sympathy with Russia, never justifiable, had no meaning now that Russia had collapsed. The entrance of America into the war had also strengthened the Polish cause. The Polish question was widely studied and understood in the United States, and a more coherent policy was now evolved in regard to Poland. The revival of a Polish State was definitely promised. But the Polish leaders in the early months of 1918 were forced to admit that the prospects of a reunion of the

German Polish provinces was remote, and demanded compensation at the expense of Russia. Meanwhile a Polish army was definitely organized in France. It consisted of recruits from the American army and the remnant of the Polish legions of General Haller. It was inspected by the President of the French Republic in the company of Mr Dmowski, and distinguished itself in the fighting in the spring and summer of 1918.

Then came the sudden reversal of fortune, the great victories of Foch, Haig and Diaz. Austrian and German military power collapsed. Revolution broke out everywhere, and the nationalities were left isolated and cut off from the West, to evolve what order they could out of the chaos into which all Europe east of the Rhine was plunged. Two nations at once showed the most striking powers of organization. The Czech-Slovaks, like the Poles, suffered from the absence of their best soldiers. They at once set up an independent State. The Poles, in spite of their division into three parts, with different traditions and parties, were equally successful; and it is an interesting task to trace the swift growth of order and reunion in the three parts of Poland.

Galicia was naturally the first part of Poland to be affected by the great revolution, because Austria had surrendered before Germany, and for several months previously her internal situation had been precarious. The action of the Poles in Austria was the easier in that, besides their representation in the Reichsrath, they had their own Parliament. Moreover, the elections in Austria, since 1907, had been conducted on a basis of universal suffrage, so that the deputies were the true representatives of all classes of the population. Directly the question of peace with the Allies was broached, the Poles acted. The pro-Austrian Conservatives and the Socialist party were now in a small minority to the

coalition of the Popular party, the National Democrats and the National Union, which had absorbed a number of smaller political sections and formed a solid national group. A full assembly of all the Polish deputies to the Austrian Parliament took place at Cracow on October 28th. They solemnly declared Austrian Poland to be an integral part of the Polish State, and created a Committee of Liquidation, with its own Executive as a provisional Government for Galicia. The natural seat of the Galician Diet was Lemberg, but this city had just been captured by the Ukrainian army, working in co-operation with Germany, which was still resolute in its bitter hostility to Poland. Lemberg was retaken by the Poles in November, and a Governing Committee for all Austrian Poland was set up. Austrian Silesia also joined Galicia, and an agreement was made with the Czechs as to a common frontier. The members of the Committee were as follows:

12 Populists.
8 National Democrats.
3 National Unionists.
2 Catholic Populists.
8 Socialists.
3 Conservatives.
6 Democrats.
2 Progressivists.

This gave thirteen votes to the purely National parties, twelve to the Popular party who were now in alliance with the former, and eight votes to the Socialists. The Committee desired an immediate union with the Kingdom of Poland, but the course of events there had placed the Socialists in power, and no members of the Committee, except the Socialists, would recognize the new Government. So the Poles of Austria, having rapidly organized

themselves, driven off their enemies and introduced order, waited on events. It is to be noted that no attempt was made to conciliate the Ukrainist element in East Galicia. The future of East Galicia was left to be decided by armed force or by the Peace Conference.

In Poznania the fall of William II., and the proclamation of a Republic led to the formation of Councils of Workmen and Soldiers among the German inhabitants, and a Popular Council among the Poles. But instead of attacking the German Councils, the Poles entered them, and soon had a majority on the Councils, both of Poznań and of many other towns and districts of the country. But having paralysed the activities of the German Socialists, it was necessary to form some central authority. On November 18th the Polish deputies to the Reichstag, who were elected on a basis of universal suffrage, and the Polish members of the Prussian Diet, met at Poznań and decided to form a Supreme Popular Council. Under the management of a Provisional Committee, elections were rapidly carried out, and deputies were elected on a basis of one deputy for every 2500 electors. This astonishing piece of organization is a striking testimony to the political ability of the Poles of Prussia, and was carried out at a time when all Germany and Austria were in a state of chaos and paralysis. The Diet met at Poznań on December 3rd, and at once sent messages to the chiefs of the Allied States. It also formally recognized the National Committee in Paris as representing German Poland, and discussed all the pressing internal questions. Mr Seyda announced the failure of his attempts to co-operate with the Socialist Government at Warsaw with the object of forming a National Coalition Government for all Poland. The Diet then proceeded to the election of a supreme Popular Council, with an Executive Committee of six members, who were: Mr Adamski, the successor

of Wawrzyniak as Patron of the Co-operative Credit Societies; Mr Korfanty, the workman deputy from Silesia; Mr Seyda, President of the Parliamentary Club; and three others, a Deputy, a Journalist and a workman.

The Germans realized that the numerical superiority and political ability of the Poles had given them control of Poznania, Upper Silesia and parts of West Prussia, and they resolved to resort to force. It must be remembered that the Polish soldiers were not yet disbanded, but were serving in the German army on the Western front. The Polish position, in occupation of what was still part of the German State, was illegal, but had been peacefully carried out and supported by a large majority of the inhabitants of the country. The fate of Prussian Poland was to depend on the arbitration of the Peace Congress. But Germany had always put forward the plausible fiction of the German character of Poznania, and she did not wish to be forced in this way to recognize it before all the world as Polish. A division of the Guards entrained for Poznań. The Poles protested in vain against this resort to force, but were compelled in their turn to resort to armed resistance. At this critical moment Mr Paderewski, empowered by the National Committee in Paris to get into touch with the Poles, arrived in Poznań. He was greeted with tremendous enthusiasm. But the outbreak of fighting distracted the attention of the people. Poznań itself was soon won by the Poles, who proceeded to occupy almost all the province, except the regions where the Germans were in a majority, such as Bromberg. Fighting continued into the next year, and was only terminated by the arrival of an Allied Commission to mark out the boundaries of the two nationalities.

Both the Austrian and Prussian parts of Poland

possessed excellent electoral systems, and were able, immediately after the revolution, to organize Executive bodies expressive of public opinion. The Kingdom of Poland, however, was in a far more chaotic state. It had originally used the backward electoral system of Russia and the newer franchise, arranged and manipulated by the German Government to suit its own ends. The Executive or Regency Council, of Three, nominated in 1917 by the two German Emperors, at once proclaimed the independence and unity of Poland. But they attempted to keep themselves in power and proposed a coalition Government. But they had to face the united opposition of the chief groups, now united in a solid bloc as the Club of Parties, which desired to overthrow the Regency Council and form a national Government, feeling convinced that the Club represented a majority in the country. The Club was working all through in touch with the National Committee in Paris. But this plan was defeated by the Socialists, and the Regency Council now tried to remain with the support of the Socialist groups. A compromise was arrived at by which the Regents remained, and a Ministry was formed by the Club of Parties. In this period of confusion Mr Daszyński, the leader of the Socialist party in Austrian Poland, appeared at Lublin, and working with the Warsaw Socialists set up a Socialist Government there. He tried to persuade some elements of the Popular party to join, but they refused. Some days later, on November 10th, General Pilsudski, released from prison, returned to Warsaw. He was at once acclaimed as a national hero, and the Regents nominated him Commander of the Army, and entrusted him with the task of forming a Government. General Pilsudski, who was a Socialist, and whose philo-Austrian and romantic ideas made him hostile to the more moderate Nationalist parties in Russia, set up a purely Socialist

MME. CURIE
NÉE MARYA SKLODOWSKA

JOSEPH PILSUDSKI
COMMANDER OF THE POLISH LEGION

Government, with Mr Daszyński as President of the Council and Mr Moraczewski as Premier. He again attempted to win the support of the Galician Popular party, but the Galician peasants were now solidly for the National Union or Club. Matters seemed to have reached an *impasse*; but the situation, though complicated, was not so hopeless as it seemed. Now that Austria had fallen, there was no external political division between Pilsudski and the National parties, which, it must be remembered, now consisted not only of the National Democrats, but of the Populist majority from Galicia, the Progressivist parties of Warsaw and all the representatives of Prussian Poland. Moreover, Pilsudski's socialism was not international, but quite as national as the ideas of the National parties. He had inherited a great deal of the political Romanticism of the years preceding 1863, and owed his popularity to his position as military dictator, the successor of Kościuszko and Traugut. The initiative was now taken by the National Committee in Paris, which sent Mr Grabski to reconcile the two parties. They next sent Mr Paderewski, who was an artist rather than a politician, but a man of world-wide fame, regarded by all Poland with pride and esteem. He was known for his philanthropy and patriotism, and had presented a statue of Jagiello to Cracow on the anniversary of the battle of Grunwald. He came first to Poznań, then to Warsaw, and soon succeeded in reconciling both parties. It was decided to form a Coalition Cabinet in Poland on the one hand, and to strengthen the Committee in Paris with delegates from the Socialist parties on the other. On January 16th Mr Moraczewski's Government resigned, and a Coalition Cabinet was formed with Mr Paderewski as Premier and Foreign Minister, with a commission of five under him, including Mr Daszyński, the Socialist leader; Mr Witoś, the Populist leader; Mr Seyda, the

National Democratic leader for Poznań, and two others. The Ministers were seventeen in number, seven from Russian Poland, seven from Galicia and three from Prussian Poland. According to parties, there were eight from the various Nationalist parties, two from the Popular party, two from the Democratic parties, two Socialists and three non-party Ministers. The representatives of Poland at the Peace Congress were to be Mr Dmowski and Mr Piltz, both from the National coalition.

The two leading events of the next months were war and the elections. The Poles in Poznania were still fighting small German detachments, and feared a great German offensive, but the fighting ceased on the arrival of the Allied Mission. A little later fighting broke out in Austrian Silesia, where the new Czecho-Slovak Republic was pegging out wide claims. This unfortunate campaign was also stopped by Allied intervention. But the most immediate danger came from the East. The army of the Ukraine continued to besiege Lemberg with great fury, and only a general levy of the local inhabitants, including women and young boys, could hold them at bay. The Bolshevik army was also invading Lithuania, assisted by remnants of the German army, and succeeded in capturing Vilna. The military position of Poland was thus exceedingly precarious on all fronts. She had to face simultaneous attacks from all her traditional foes.

The elections for the Polish Parliament were held all over Poland in January 1919, and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the National groups. In Warsaw the National bloc gained 150,000 votes, the Socialists 42,000, the Jewish parties 74,000. Sixteen National deputies were elected, including Mr Paderewski and Mr Dmowski, three Socialists and three Jewish

nationalists. Even in cosmopolitan Lodz, where the Jewish Sionists gained 16,000 votes, the Orthodox Jewish party 12,000, the Germans 15,000 and the Socialists 23,000, the National bloc gained 56,000 votes. The Populists, who now belonged to the National bloc, received large majorities in the country districts. From a social point of view the new Polish Parliament was interesting. It contained 150 peasant deputies, 30 workmen and about 100 intellectuals. It was composed of a solid National bloc in the Right and the Centre, varying from the National Democrats on the Right to the Populist Left. The Left was composed of the Radical Populists, Socialists and the Jewish parties. Thus a new Polish political system has been created, and feels itself the direct successor of the great *Sejm* dissolved in 1792. But it is a democratic body, representing all sections of the community, and brilliant speeches have already been made by the peasant members and especially by the Silesian workman, Mr Korfanty, expressive of the new liberal spirit that will guide Poland into paths of progress, and will place her high in the ranks of the republics of Europe, while at the same time all the most genuine of her national traditions will be preserved. Her internal problems she will solve herself. Her frontiers are being decided by the Peace Conference at Versailles. These boundaries are not yet fixed, but will be known by the time these words appear in print. They will certainly give to the Polish Republic practically all the lands inhabited by the Poles, together with some sort of a corridor to the port of Dantzig.

The internal conditions of Poland are already becoming better known. It is clear that in the period of confusion that followed the collapse of three empires, the Poles, like the Czecho-Slovaks, displayed astonishing powers of organization. In a land devastated by war and

wasted by starvation and economic stagnation, order was maintained. Bolshevism made no headway internally. Externally the enemies of Poland were driven back. With inadequate military forces, the Poles defended Poznania against the Germans, Cieszyn against the Czechs, Lemberg against the Ukrainians; and drove the Russian Bolsheviks out of Vilna. Now that the main Polish army under General Haller has returned from France, the new Republic is in a position to protect itself against Russia and Germany. At the same time astonishing progress has been made in the task of unification. Three separate political systems were merged into one; and in a few months a Constituent Assembly met, declared Poland a free Republic, and formally joined the Entente group of States. A Parliament has been in session for some months and has emphasized both the national claims and the democratic character of the new Polish State. Economic readjustment is a more difficult and a longer task. But with an outlet at Dantzig and under the guidance of the group of able financiers and administrators from Poznania, Poland should soon emerge as a strong economic as well as a political unit.

The Polish Republic will continue its historic rôle as a bulwark of Western civilization in Eastern Europe, as a repository of Latin traditions and of Western constitutionalism against extreme Socialism and against any revival of Imperialism either in Germany or in Russia. Poland will be firmly founded on nationalism and democracy, and is already showing that these two principles are not incompatible. National ideals are to the Poles an incentive to work after a period of depression and demoralization. Fears have been expressed in some quarters as to the future of Polish nationalism. Will it degenerate into mere Chauvinism,

as the ideals of Kossuth were transformed into the ideals of Tisza? Such an evolution is hardly possible in Poland. In the first place, the Poles will not have to fear powerful racial minorities such as existed in Hungry. Secondly, the Peasant party is the most powerful political organization in Poland. The workmen's organizations and the Socialist parties are also considerable. The political revival of Poland in recent times has been essentially democratic as well as national; and if the chief party has become more national than democratic, it has been forced at the present time to make considerable concessions to democracy, and has worked throughout the war in close co-operation with the Progressive parties of Warsaw, the moderate parties of Poznania and the Peasant party of Galicia. Moreover, Poland has before her to-day an ideal which did not exist when Hungary obtained her independence. She has not to fear an alliance of autocratic Powers. The new spirit of Europe is expressing itself in ideas of the brotherhood of men and the League of Nations. In Poland there is always a ready response to international ideals. In former days Poland was the most cosmopolitan State in Europe. In fact it was owing to her pacificism, her excessive toleration and her implicit faith in the brotherhood of nations that she lost her independence. Polish nationalism is a very recent reaction against her earlier internationalism, and once her safety is assured there will inevitably be a revival of those early ideals which were only relinquished in face of the aggression of the neighbouring States. Poland was once cynically called "the Inn of Europe" by her neighbours. If she can be convinced of her security to-day, she will be proud to earn once more such a title. Poland fell through a vicious diplomatic system. She has been restored in an age of idealism and hope. Her existence will be a tribute to the revival of

international justice. But the Polish Republic will also be an eternal monument to the courage and tenacity of the Polish race, the triumph of faith and hope over suffering and despair, the victory, over the powers of evil, of all the great and beautiful ideals that inspire mankind to live and create.

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